

58. n 15
Last

MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBRI XVI.

K. Cicero [In 21]

*At M. TULLIUM, non illum habemus EUPHRANOREM
circa plurium artium species praestantem, sed in omnibus,
quae in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum.*

Quintil. Instit. XII. 10.

EDIDIT,
ET COMMENTARIO ANGLICO ILLUSTRAVIT
JOANNES ROSS A.M.
COLL. D. JOAN. CANT. SOCIUS.

CANTABRIGIAE
IMPENSIS GUL. THURLBOURN.
PROSTANT LONDINI APUD J. BEECROFT, P. VAILLANT,
J. NOURSE, ET R. DODSLEY.



7

MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
TOMUS SECUNDUS.



CANTABRIGIAE
TYPIS ACADEMICIS EXCUDEBAT J. BENTHAM.

A.M.DCC.XL.IX.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER IX.

EPISTOLA I.

M. CICERO M. TERENTIO VAR-
RONI, S.D.

EX¹ his literis, quas Atticus a te missas mihi legit, quid ageres, et ubi esses, cognovi: quando autem te visuri essemus, nihil sane ex iisdem literis potui suspicari. In spem tamen venio, appropinquare tuum adventum, qui mihi utinam solatio sit: etsi tot tantisque rebus urge-
VOL. II. A mur,





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mur, ut nullam allevationem quisquam non stultissimus sperare debeat: sed tamen aut tu potes me, aut ego te fortasse aliqua re juvare. Scito enim me, posteaquam in urbem² venerim, redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris in gratiam. Etsi non idcirco eorum usum dimiseram, quod iis succenserem: sed quod eorum me suppudebat. Videbar enim mihi, cum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demissem, praeceptis illorum non satis paruisse. Ignoscunt mihi, revocant in consuetudinem pristinam, teque, quod in eo permaneris, sapientior, quam me, dicunt fuisse. Quamobrem cum placatis his utor, videor sperare debere, si te viderim, et ea, quae premant, et ea, quae impendant me facile³ transiturum. Quamobrem si in Tusculano, si in Cumano ad te placebit, si, quod minime velim, Romae: dummodo simul simus, perficiam profecto, ut id utrique nostrum commodissimum esse videatur. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

CICERO VARRONI.

ETSI¹ quid scriberem non habebam, tamen Caninio ad te eunti non potui nihil dare. Quid ergo potissimum scribam? quod velle te puto, cito me ad te esse venturum. Etsi vide,
quaeso,

quaeso, fatiscne rectum sit, nos hoc tanto incendio civitatis in istis² locis esse. Dabimus sermonem iis, qui nesciunt nobis, quocumque in loco simus, eundem cultum, eundem victum esse. Quid refert? tamen in sermonem incidemus. Valde id, credo, laborandum est, ne, cum omnes in omni genere et scelerum et flagitiorum voluntur, nostra nobiscum, aut inter nos cessatio vituperetur. Ego vero, neglecta barbarorum inscitia, te persequar. Quamvis enim haec sint misera, quae sunt miserrima, tamen artes nostrae, nescio quo modo, nunc uberiores fructus ferre videntur, quam olim ferebant: sive quia nulla nunc in re alia acquiescimus, sive quod gravitas morbi facit, ut medicinae egeamus, eaque nunc appareat, cuius vim non sentiebamus, cum valebamus. Sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur? γλαῦκ' εἰς³ Ἀθήνας nihil scilicet, nisi ut, rescribens aliquid, me expectares. Sic igitur facies. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

CICERO VARRONI.

CANINIUS¹ idem tuus et idem noster, cum ad me pervespero venisset, et se postridie mane ad te iturum esse dixisset: dixi ei, me daturum aliquid mane; ut peteret, rogavi. Con-

scripsi epistolam noctu : nec ille ad me rediit. Oblitum credidi. Attamen eam ipsam tibi epistolam misissem per meos, nisi audissem ex eodem, postridie te mane e Tusculano exiturum. At² tibi repente paucis post diebus, cum minime expectarem, venit ad me Caninius mane : proficisci ad te statim dixit. Etsi erat ^{ἔωλ}  ³ illa epistola, praesertim tantis postea novis rebus alatis, tamen perire lucubrationem meam nolui, et eam ipsam Caninio dedi. Sed cum eo, et homine docto, et tui amantissimo locutus ea sum, quae pertulisse illum ad te existimo. Tibi autem idem consilii do, quod mihimetipsi, ut vitemus oculos hominum, si linguas minus facile possimus. Qui enim victoria se efferunt, quasi victos nos intuentur. Qui autem victos esse nostros moleste ferunt, nos dolent vivere. Quaeres fortasse, cur, cum haec in urbe sint, non absim, quemadmodum tu. Tu enim ipse, qui et me et alios prudentia vincis, omnia, credo, vidisti : nihil te omnino fefellit. Quis est tam lynceus, qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat ? Ac mihi quidem jam pridem venit in mentem, bellum esse aliquo exire, ut ea, quae agebantur hic, quaeque dicebantur, nec viderem, nec audirem. Sed calumniabar⁴ ipse. Putabam, qui obviam mihi venisset, ut cuique commodum esset ; suspicaturum,

caturum, aut dicturum, etiam si non suspicaretur: hic aut metuit, et ea re fugit, aut aliquid cogitat, et habet navem paratam. Denique, levissime qui suspicaretur, et qui fortasse me optime novisset, putaret me idcirco discedere, quod quosdam homines oculi mei ferre non possent. Haec ego suspicans adhuc Romae maneo: et tamen λεληθώς⁵ consuetudo diuturna callum jam obduxit stomacho meo. Habes rationem mei consilii. Tibi igitur hoc censeo: latendum tantisper ibidem, dum defervescit haec gratulatio, et simul dum audiamus, quemadmodum negotium confectum sit. Confectum enim esse existimo. Magni autem intererit, qui fuerit victoris animus, qui exitus rerum. Quamquam quo me conjectura ducat, habeo: sed expecto tamen. Te vero nolo, nisi ipse rumor jam raucus erit factus, ad Bajas venire. Erit enim nobis honestius, etiam cum hinc discefferimus, videri venisse in illa loca ploratum potius, quam natatum. Sed haec tu melius: modo nobis stet illud, una vivere in studiis nostris: a quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem: non deesse, si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad aedificandam rempublicam, et potius libenter accurrere: si nemo utetur opera, tamen et scribere,

bere, et legere ⁶ πολίλειας: et si minus in curia atque in foro, at in literis et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, navare ⁷ rempublicam, et de moribus, ac legibus quaerere. Mihi haec videntur. Tu quid sis acturus, et quid tibi placeat, pergratum erit, si ad me scripseris. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

CICERO VARRONI.

ΠEPI ¹ δυνάων me scito *καὶ* Διόδωρον κέλευν. Quapropter, si venturus es, scito necesse esse te venire. Sin autem non es, *τῷ* ἀδυνάτων est te venire. Nunc vide, utra te *λείπεις* magis delectet, Χρυσιππεία-ne, an haec, quam noster Diodotus ² non concoquebat. Sed de his etiam rebus, otiosi cum erimus, loquemur. Hoc etiam *καὶ* Χρυσιππον δυνάων est. De Coctio ³ mihi gratum est. Nam id etiam Attico mandaram. Tu si minus ad nos, accurremus ad te. Si hortum ⁴ in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

CICERO VARRONI.

MIHI ¹ vero ad Non. bene maturum videtur fore, neque solum propter reipublicae, sed etiam propter anni tempus. Quare diem istum probo. Itaque eundem ipse sequar. Con-
filii

fili² nostri, ne si eos quidem, qui id sequuti non sunt, non poeniteret, nobis poenitendum putarem. Sequuti enim sumus non spem, sed officium. Reliquimus autem non officium, sed desperationem. Ita verecundiores fuimus, quam qui se domo non commoverunt: saniores, quam qui, amissis opibus, domum non reverterunt. Sed nihil minus fero, quam severitatem otiosorum: et, quoquo modo se res haberet, magis illos vereor, qui in bello occiderunt, quam hos curo, quibus non satisfacimus, quia vivimus. Mihi si spatium fuerit in Tusculanum ante Nonas veniendi, istuc te videbo. Sin minus, persequar in Cumanum: et antè te certiore faciam, ut³ lavatio parata sit. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.
CICERO VARRONI.

CANINIUS noster me tuis verbis admonuit, ut scriberem ad te, si quid esset quod putarem te scire oportere. Est igitur adventus¹ Caesaris scilicet in exspectatione: neque tu id ignoras. Sed tamen, cum ille scripsisset, ut opinor, se in Alfiense venturum, scripserunt ad eum sui, ne id faceret: multos ei molestos fore, ipsumque multis. Ostiae videri commodius eum exire posse. Id ego non intelligebam quid interesset. Sed ta-

men Hirtius mihi dixit, et se ad eum, et Balbum, et Oppium scripsisse ut ita faceret, homines, ut cognovi, amantes tui. Hoc ego² idcirco nosse te volui, ut scires, hospitium tibi ubi parares, vel potius ubi utrique; quid enim ille facturus sit, incertum est: et simul ostentavi tibi, me istis esse familiarem, et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, et probare si quid probandum non est. Etsi quid non probem quidem, nescio, praeter initia rerum. Nam haec in voluntate fuerunt. Vidi enim, nam tu aberas, nostros³ amicos cupere bellum: hunc autem non tam cupere, quam non timere. Ergo haec consilii fuerunt: reliqua necessaria. Vincere autem aut hos, aut illos necesse est. Scio te semper mecum in luctu fuisse, cum videremus, quam illud ingens malum alterius utrius exercitus ex ducum interitu: tum vero extremum malorum omnium esse civilis belli⁴ victoriam: quam quidem ego etiam illorum timebam, ad quos veneramus. Crudeliter enim otiosis minabantur: eratque iis et tua invisa voluntas, et mea oratio. Nunc vero, si essent nostri potiti, valde intemperantes fuissent. Erant enim nobis perirati, quasi quidquam de nostra salute decrevissemus, quod non idem illis censu-

issemus:

iffemus : aut quasi utilius reipublicae fuerit, eos etiam ad bestiarum^s auxilium confugere, quam vel emori, vel cum spe, si non optima, at aliqua tamen vivere. At in perturbata republica vivimus. Quis negat? Sed hoc viderint ii, qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnes vitae status paraverunt. Huc enim ut venirem, superior longius, quam volui, fluxit oratio. Cum enim te semper magnum hominem duxi : tum quod his tempestatibus es prope solus in portu, fructusque doctrinae percipis eos, qui maximi sunt, ut ea consideres, eaque tractes, quorum et usus, et delectatio est omnibus istorum et⁶ actis, et voluptatibus anteponenda. Equidem hos tuos Tusculanenses dies instar esse vitae puto : libenterque omnibus omnes opes concesserim, ut mihi liceat, vi nulla interpellante, isto modo vivere. Quod nos quoque imitamur, ut possumus, et in nostris studiis libentissime conquiescimus. Quis enim hoc non dederit nobis, ut, cum opera nostra patria five non possit uti, five nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi etiam reipublicae praeposendam putaverunt? Quae igitur studia magnorum hominum sententia vacationem habent etiam publici muneris, iis, concedente republica, cur non abutamur? Sed plus facio quam Caninius mandavit.

mandavit. Is enim, si quid ego scirem, rogarat, quod tu nescires. Ego tibi ea narro, quae tu melius scis, quam ipse, qui narro. Faciam ergo illud, quod rogatus sum, ut eorum, quae temporis huius sint, quaeve audiero, ne quid ignores. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.
CICERO VARRONI.

COENABAM apud Seium, cum utrique nostrum redditae sunt a te literae. Mihi vero jam maturum videtur. Nam quod antea calumniatus¹ sum, indicabo malitiam meam. Volebam prope alicubi esse, si quid bonae salutis, *ὅν τε δὴ ἐρχομένω*. Nunc, quum confecta sunt omnia, dubitandum non est, quin equis² viris. Nam ut audiui de L.³Caesare F. mecum ipse, “quid hic mihi faciet patri?” Itaque non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur coenitare. Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. Sed ridicula missa; praesertim cum sit nihil, quod rideamus.

Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu.

Itaque nullum est ἀποπροσμέρον⁴, quod non verer. Sed quod quaeris, quando⁵, qua, quo, nihil adhuc scimus. Istuc ipsum de Baiis, nonnulli dubitant, an per Sardiniam veniat. Illud enim adhuc praedium suum non inspexit: nec ullum
habet

habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ego omnino magis arbitror per Siciliam : vel jam sciemus. Adventat enim Dolabella. Eum puto magistrum fore.

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείττους διδασκάλων.

Sed tamen, si sciam, quid tu constitueris, meum consilium accommodabo potissimum ad tuum. Quare expecto tuas literas. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

CICERO VARRONI.

ET SI munus¹ flagitare, quamvis quis ostenderit, ne populus quidem solet nisi concitatus : tamen ego expectatione promissi tui moveor, ut admoneam te, non ut flagitem. Misi autem ad te quatuor admonitores non nimis vercundos. Nosti enim profecto os illius adolescentioris² Academiae. Ex ea igitur media excitatos misi, qui, metuo, ne te forte flagitent : ego autem mandavi, ut rogarent. Expectabam omnino jamdiu, meque sustinebam, ne ad te prius ipse quid scriberem, quam aliquid accepissem, ut possem te remunerari quam simillimo munere. Sed, cum tu tardius faceres, id est, ut ego interpretor, diligentius ; teneri non potui, quin conjunctionem studiorum amorisque nostri, quo possem literarum

rum genere declararem. Feci igitur sermonem inter nos habitum in Cumano, cum esset una Pomponius : tibi dedi partes³ Antiochinas, quas a te probari intellexisse mihi videbar : mihi sumfi Philonis. Puto fore, ut, cum legeris, mirere, nos id locutos esse inter nos, quod nunquam locuti sumus. Sed nosti morem dialogorum. Post haec autem, mi Varro, quam plurima, si videtur, et de nobis inter nos : fero fortasse : sed superiorum temporum fortuna reipublicae causam sustineat. Haec ipsi praestare debemus. Atque utinam quietis temporibus, atque aliquo, si non bono, at saltem certo statu civitatis, haec inter nos studia exercere possimus. Quanquam tum quidem vel aliae quaequam rationes honestas nobis et curas et actiones darent : nunc autem quid est, sine his cur vivere velimus ? Mihi vero cum his ipsis vix : his autem detractis, ne vix quidem. Sed haec coram, et saepius migrationem et emtionem feliciter evenire volo, tuumque in ea re consilium probo. Cura ut valeas.

EPISTOLA IX.

DOLABELLA CICERONI S. D.

SI¹ vales, gaudeo: et ipse valeo, et Tullia nostra recte valet. Terentia minus belle habuit: sed certum scio jam convaluisse eam. Praeterea rectissime sunt apud te omnia. Etsi nullo tempore in suspicionem tibi debui venire, partium causa potius, quam tua tibi suadere, ut te aut cum Caesare nobiscumque conjungeres, aut certe in otium referres: praecipue nunc jam inclinata victoria, ne possum quidem in ullam aliam incidere opinionem, nisi in eam, in qua scilicet tibi suadere videar, quod pie tacere non possum. Tu autem, mi Cicero, sic haec accipies, ut sive probabuntur tibi, sive non probabuntur, ab optimo certe animo ac deditissimo tibi et cogitata et scripta esse iudices. Animadvertis, Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui, nec rerum gestarum gloria, neque etiam regum ac nationum² clientelis, quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum: et hoc etiam, quod infimo cuique contigit, illi non posse contingere, ut honeste effugere possit, pulso Italia, amissis³ Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano, circumvallato nunc denique: quod nescio an ulli unquam nostro acciderit imperatori. Quamobrem, quid aut ille sperare possit, aut tu, animum

mum adverte pro tua prudentia. Sic enim facillime quod tibi utilissimum erit consilii capies. Illud autem te peto, ut, si jam ille evitaverit hoc periculum, et se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas: et aliquando tibi potius, quam cuivis, sis amicus. Satisfactum est jam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati: satisfactum etiam partibus, et ei reipublicae, quam tu probabas. Reliquum est, ubi nunc est respublica, ibi fimus potius, quam, dum illam veterem sequamur, fimus in nulla. Quare velim, mi jucundissime Cicero, si forte Pompeius pulsus his quoque locis, rursus alias regiones petere cogatur, ut tu te vel Athenas, vel in quamvis quietam recipias civitatem. Quod si eris facturus, velim mihi scribas, ut ego, si ullo modo potero, ad te advolem. Quaecunque de tua dignitate ab imperatore erunt impetranda, qua est humanitate Caesar, facillimum erit ab eo tibi ipsi impetrare: et meas tamen preces apud eum non minimum auctoritatis habituras puto. Erit tuae quoque fidei et humanitatis curare, ut is tabellarius, quem ad te misi, reverti possit ad me, et a te mihi literas referat. Vale.

EPISTOLA X.

M. CICERO P. DOLABELLAE, S.D.

NON¹ sum ausus Salvio nostro nihil ad te
 literarum dare. Nec mehercule habebam
 quid scriberem, nisi te a me mirabiliter amari;
 de quo, etiam nihil scribente me, te non dubi-
 tare certo scio. Omnino mihi magis literae sunt
 exspectandae a te, quam a me tibi. Nihil enim
 Romae geritur, quod te putem scire curare: nisi
 forte scire vis, me inter Niciam² nostrum et
 Vidium iudicem esse. Profert alter, ut opinor,
 duobus versiculis expensum Niciae: alter Ari-
 starchus hos ὀβελίζει. Ego, tamquam criticus
 antiquus, iudicaturus sum, utrum sint τῶ ποιητῆ,
 an παρεμβεβλημένοι. Puto³ nunc dicere: obli-
 tusne es igitur fungorum illorum, quos apud
 Niciam? et ingentium culinarum cum Sophia⁴
 Septimiae? Quid ergo? tu adeo mihi excussam
 severitatem veterem putas, ut ne in foro qui-
 dem reliquiae pristinae frontis appareant? sed
 tamen suavissimum Συμβιάτην nostrum prae-
 stabo integellum, nec committam, ut si ego eum
 condemnaro, tu⁵ restituas, ne habeat Bursa Plan-
 cus, apud quem literas discat. Sed quid ago?
 cum mihi sit incertum, tranquillone sis animo,
 an, ut in bello, in aliqua majuscula cura nego-
 tiove

tiove versere. Labor longius. Cum igitur mihi erit exploratum te libenter esse risurum, scribam ad te pluribus. Te tamen hoc scire volo, vehementer populum sollicitum fuisse de P. ⁶ Sullae morte, antequam certum scierit. Nunc quaerere desierunt, quomodo perierit. Satis putant se scire, quod sciunt. Ego caeteroqui animo aequo fero : unum vereor, ne hasta Caesaris refrixerit.

EPISTOLA XI.

CICERO DOLABELLAE S.

CAIUS ¹ Suberinus Calenus, et meus est familiaris, et Leptae nostri familiarissimi pernecessarius. Is cum vitandi belli causa profectus esset in Hispaniam cum M. Varrone ante bellum, ut in ea provincia esset, in qua nemo nostrum, post ² Afranium superatum, bellum ullum fore putarat : incidit in ea ipsa mala, quae summo studio vitaverat. Oppressus est enim bello repentino : quod bellum commotum a Scapula, ita postea confirmatum est a Pompeio, ut nulla ratione se ab illa miseria eripere posset. Eadem causa fere est M. Planii Heredis, qui est item, ut Calenus, Leptae nostri familiarissimus. Hosce igitur ambo tibi sic commendo, ut maiore cura, studio, sollicitudine animi commendare non possim.

sim. Volo ipforum causa: meque in eo vehementer et amicitia movet et humanitas. Lepta vero cum ita laboret, ut ejus fortunae videantur in discrimen venire; non possum ego non aut proxime atque ille, aut etiam aequè laborare. Quapropter, etsi saepe expertus sum, quantum me amares, tamen sic velim tibi persuadeas, id me in hac re maxime judicaturum. Peto igitur a te, vel, si pateris, oro, ut homines miseros, et fortuna, quam vitare nemo potest, magis quam culpa calamitosos, conserves incolumes: velisque per te me hoc muneris cum ipsis amicis hominibus, tum municipio Caleno, quo-cum mihi magna necessitudo est, tum Leptae, quem omnibus antepono, dare. Quod dicturus sum, puto equidem non valde ad rem pertinere, sed tamen nihil obest dicere. Res familiaris alteri eorum valde exigua est, alteri vix³ equestris. Quapropter cum his Caesar vitam sua liberalitate concessit, nec est quod iis praeterea magnopere possit adimi: reditum, si me tantum amas, quantum certe amas, hominibus confice. In quo nihil est praeter viam longam: quam idcirco non fugiunt, ut et vivant cum suis, et moriantur domi. Quod ut enitare contendasque, vel potius ut perficias, posse enim te mihi persuasi, vehementer te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XII.

CICERO DOLABELLAE.

VEL meo ¹ ipsius interitu mallem literas meas desiderares, quam eo casu, quo sum gravissime afflictus: quem ferrem certe moderatius, si te haberem. Nam et oratio tua prudens, et amor erga me singularis, multum levaret. Sed cum brevi tempore, ut opinio nostra est, te sum visurus, ita me affectum offendes, ut multum a te possim juvari: non quo ita sim fractus, ut aut hominem me esse oblitus sim, aut fortunae succumbendum putem: sed tamen hilaritas illa nostra, et suavitas, quae te praeter caeteros delectabat, erepta mihi omnis est. Firmitatem tamen et constantiam, si modo fuit aliquando in nobis, eandem cognosces, quam reliquisti. Quod scribis proelia te mea causa sustinere, non tam id laboro, ut, si qui mihi obtrecent, a te refutentur, quam intelligi cupio, quod certe intelligitur, me a te amari. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo, ignoscasque brevitati literarum mearum. Nam et celeriter una futuros nos arbitror, et nondum satis confirmatus sum ad scribendum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIII.

CICERO DOLABELLAE.

GRATULOR ¹ Baiis nostris, si quidem, ut scribis, salubres repente factae sunt: nisi forte te amant, et tibi assentantur, et tamdiu, dum tu ades, sunt oblatae sui. Quod quidem si ita est, minime miror, coelum etiam et terras vim suam, si tibi ita conveniat, dimittere. Oratiunculam pro ² Deiotaro, quam requirebas, habebam mecum; quod non putaram. Itaque eam tibi misi. Quam velim sic legas, ut causam tenuem et inopem, nec scriptione magnopere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui ³ levidense, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Tu velim animo sapienti fortique sis: ut tua moderatio et gravitas aliorum infamet injuriam. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO DOLABELLAE CONSULI S.

ETSI ¹ contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria, satisque ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam; tamen non possum non confiteri, cumulari me maximo gaudio, quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me adscribat tuis laudibus. Neminem conveni, convenio autem

quotidie plurimos : sunt enim permulti optimi viri, qui valetudinis causa in haec loca conveniunt, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei, quin omnes, cum te summis laudibus ad coelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. Negant enim se dubitare, quin tu, meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans, praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas. Quibus ego quamquam verissime possum respondere, te, quae facias, tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere, nec cujusquam egere consilio : tamen neque plane assentior, ne imminuam tuam laudem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur : neque valde nego. Sum enim avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriae. Et tamen non alienum dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem : mihi vero gloriosum, te juvenem consulem florere laudibus, quasi alumnum disciplinae meae. L. quidem Caesar, cum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quanquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen antequam me plane salutavit, O mi Cicero, inquit, gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam, quantum, si ego apud sororis filium valem, jam salvi esse possemus. Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor, et gratias ago : quem quidem post
te

te consulem, solum possumus vere consulem dicere. Deinde multa de facto, ac de re gesta: tum nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum unquam, nihil reipublicae salutarius. Atque haec una vox omnium est. A te autem peto, ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae finas² cernere: meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiari. Quamquam, mi Dolabella, haec enim jocus sum, libentius omnes meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae laudes, ad te transfuderim, quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. Nam cum te semper tantum dilexerim, quantum tu intelligere potuisti: tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum, ut nihil unquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. Semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum, propter ejus summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem, atque constantiam. Tamen idibus Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem, ut mirarer locum fuisse augendi in eo, quod mihi jampridem cumlatum etiam videbatur. Quis erat, qui putaret ad eum amorem, quem erga te habebam, posse aliquid accedere? tantum accessit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse. Quare quid est quod ego te hortor, ut dignitati et gloriae ser-

vias? proponam tibi claros viros, quod facere solent, qui hortantur? neminem habeo clariorem, quam te ipsum. Te imitere oportet: tecum ipse certes. Ne licet quidem tibi jam, tantis rebus gestis, non tui similem esse. Quod cum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria, gratulatione magis utendum est. Contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa, sed etiam popularis esset, et cum bonis omnibus, tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae: sed contigit magnitudine cum animi, tum etiam ingenii atque consilii. Legi enim concionem tuam. Nihil illa sapientius. Ita pedetentim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret. Liberaisti igitur et urbem periculo, et civitatem metu: neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti, sed etiam ad exemplum facti. Intelligere debes in te positam esse rempublicam, tibi que non modo tuendos, sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros, a quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram plura propediem, ut spero. Tu quoniam rempublicam nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias. Vale.

E P I S T.

EPISTOLA XV.

CICERO IMP. PAETO.

SUMMUM¹ me ducem literae tuae reddidere. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi² te libros et Cineae video letitasse. Itaque obtemperare cogito praeceptis tuis: hoc amplius, navicularum habere aliquid in ora maritima, contra equitem Parthum negant ullam armaturam meliorem inveniri posse. Sed quid ludimus? nescis quocum imperatore tibi negotium sit. Παιδείαν Κύρῳ, quam contriveram legendo, totam in hoc imperio explicavi. Sed jocabimur alias coram, ut spero, brevi tempore. Nunc ades ad imperandum, vel ad parendum potius: sic enim antiqui loquebantur. Cum M. Fabio, quod scire te arbitror, mihi summus usus est: valdeque eum diligo, cum propter summam probitatem ejus, ac singularem modestiam, tum quod in his controversiis, quas habeo cum tuis combonibus Epicureis, optima opera ejus uti soleo. Is cum ad me Laodiceam venisset, mecumque ego eum esse vellem, repente percussus est atrocissimis literis, in quibus scriptum erat, fundum Herculanensem a Q. Fabio fratre³ proscriptum esse, qui fundus cum eo communis esset. Id M. Fabius pergraviter tulit, existimavitque, fratrem

suum,

suum, hominem non sapientem, impulsu inimicorum suorum eo progressum esse. Nunc si me amas, mi Paete, negotium totum suscipe, et molestia Fabium libera. Auctoritate tua nobis opus est, et consilio, et etiam gratia. Noli pati litigare fratres, et judiciis turpibus conflictari. Matonem et Pollionem inimicos habet Fabius. Quid multa? non mehercule tam perscribere possum, quam mihi gratum feceris, si otiosum Fabium reddideris. Id ille in te positum esse putat, mihi que persuadet. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI,

CICERO PAPIRIO PAETO S.

DELECTARUNT¹ me tuae literae: in quibus primum amavi amorem tuum, qui te ad scribendum incitavit, verentem, ne Silius suo nuntio aliquid mihi sollicitudinis attulisset: de quo et tu mihi antea scripseras, bis quidem eodem exemplo, facile ut intelligerem te esse commotum: et ego tibi accurate rescripseram, ut quoquo modo in tali re atque tempore aut liberarem te ista cura, aut certe levarem. Sed cum proximis quoque literis ostendis, quantae tibi curae sit ea res, sic, mi Paete, habeto: quidquid arte fieri poterit, non enim jam satis est consilio pugnare: artificium quoddam excogitandum est, fed

sed tamen quidquid elaborari aut effici potuerit, ad istorum benevolentiam conciliandam, et colligendam, summo studio me consecutum esse: nec frustra, ut arbitror. Sic enim ² color, sic observor ab omnibus his, qui a Caesare diliguntur, ut ab his me amari putem. Nam etsi non facile dijudicatur amor verus, et fictus, nisi aliquod incidat ejusmodi tempus, ut, quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspici possit: caetera sunt signa communia: sed ego uno utor argumento, quamobrem me ex animo verique arbitrer diligere; quia et nostra fortuna ea est, et illorum, ut simulandi causa non sit. De illo autem, quem penes est omnis potestas, nihil video quod timeam: nisi quod omnia sunt incerta, cum a jure discessum est: nec praestari quidquam potest, quale futurum sit, quod positum est in alterius voluntate, ne dicam libidine. Sed tamen ejus ipsius nulla re a me offensus est animus. Est enim adhibita in ea re ipsa summa a nobis moderatio. Ut enim olim arbitrabar esse meum libere loqui, cujus opera esset in civitate libertas: sic, ea nunc amissa, nihil loqui, quod offendant aut illius, aut eorum, qui ab illo diliguntur, voluntatem. Effugere autem si velim nonnullorum acute, aut facete dictorum offensio-
nem, fama ingenii mihi est abjicienda: quod si
id

id possem, non recusarem. Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracre iudicium : et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem literatissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret, hic versus Plauti non est, hic est, quod tritas aures haberet notandis generibus poetarum, et consuetudine legendi : sic audio Caesarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποθεσμμάτων, si quod afferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, rejicere solere : quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt mecum fere quotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse illis, cum dixi, nec illiterata, nec infalsa esse videantur. Haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur : ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit, ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet. Quamobrem Oenomaos³ tuo nihil utor : etsi posuisti loco versus Accianos. Sed quae est invidia ? aut quid mihi nunc invideri potest ? Verum fac esse omnia. Sic video philosophis placuisse iis, qui mihi soli videntur vim virtutis tenere. Nihil esse sapientis praestare, nisi culpam : qua mihi videor dupliciter carere : et quod ea senserim, quae rectissima fuerunt : et quia, cum viderem praesidii non satis esse ad ea obtinenda, viribus certandum cum valentioribus non putarim. Ergo in officio boni civis certe non sum reprehendendus. Reliquum est, ne
quid

quid stulte, ne quid temere dicam, aut faciam contra potentes: id quoque puto esse sapientis. Caetera vero, quid quisque me dixisse dicat, aut quomodo ille accipiat, aut qua fide mecum vivant ii, qui me assidue colunt et observant, praestare non possum. Ita fit, ut et consiliorum superiorum conscientia, et praesentis temporis moderatione me consolet, et illam Accii similitudinem non modo jam ad invidiam, sed ad fortunam transferam: quam existimo levem et imbecillam, ab animo firmo et gravi, tanquam fluctum a saxo, frangi oportere. Etenim, cum plena sint monumenta Graecorum, quemadmodum sapientissimi viri regna tulerint vel Athenis, vel Syracusis, cum, fervientibus suis civitatibus, fuerint ipsi quodammodo liberi: ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse, ut neque offendam animum cujusquam, nec frangam dignitatem meam? Nunc venio ad jocationes tuas, cum tu secundum Oenomaum Accii, non ut olim solebat, ⁴Atellanum, sed, ut nunc fit, mimum introduxisti. Quem tu mihi Popilium, quem Denarium narras? quam Tyrotarichi patinam? facilitate mea ista ferebantur antea, nunc mutata res est. Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, coenandi magistros. Puto enim te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos

los apud me declamitare, me apud eos coenitare. Tu autem quod mihi bonam copiam⁵ ejures, nihil est. Tum enim cum rem habebas, quaestibus te faciebam attentiores : nunc, cum tam aequo animo bona perdas, non eo sis consilio, ut, cum me hospitio recipias, aestimationem te aliquam putes accipere. Etiam haec levior est plaga ab amico, quam a debitore. Nec tamen eas coenas quaero, ut magnae reliquiae fiant : quod erit, magnificum fit et lautum. Memini te mihi Phameae coenam narrare. Temperius fiat : caetera eodem modo. Quod si perseveras me ad matris tuae coenam revocare, feram id quoque. Volo enim videre animum, qui mihi audeat ista, quae scribis, apponere, aut etiam polypum Miniani⁶ Jovis similem. Mihi crede : non audebis. Ante meum adventum fama ad te de mea nova lautitia veniet : eam extimesces. Neque est, quod in⁷ promulsae spei ponas aliquid : quam totam sustuli. Solebam enim antea delectari oleis et lunicis tuis. Sed quid haec loquimur ? liceat modo isto venire. Tu vero, volo enim abstergere animi tui metum, ad Tyrotarichum antiquum redi. Ego tibi unum sumptum afferam, quod balneum calfacias oportebit : caetera more nostro ; superiora illa lusimus. De villa Seliciana et curasti diligenter, et scripsisti facetissime. Itaque
puto

puto me praetermissurum. ⁸ Salis enim fatis est, sannionum parum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVII.

CICERO L. PAPIRIO PAETO S.D.

CUM essem ¹ otiosus in Tusculano, propterea quod discipulos obviam miseram, ut iidem me quam maxime conciliarent familiari suo, accepi tuas literas, plenissimas suavitatis: ex quibus intellexi probari tibi meum consilium, quod, ut Dionysius tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse; sic ego, sublatis judiciis, amisso regno forensi, ludum quasi habere coeperim. Quid quaeris? me quòque delectat consilium: multa enim consequor: primum id, quod maxime nunc opus est, munio me ad haec tempora. Id cuiusmodi sit nescio: tantum video nullius adhuc consilia me huic anteponere, nisi forte mori melius fuit. In lectulo: fateor: sed non accidit. In acie non fui. Caeteri ² quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, foede perierunt. At Cato praeclare. Jam istuc quidem, cum volemus, licebit. Demus modo operam, ne tam necesse nobis sit, quam illi fuit: id quod agimus. Ergo hoc primum. Sequitur illud. Ipse melior fio, primum valetudine, quam intermissis exercitationibus

tionibus, amiseram: deinde ipsa illa, si qua fuit in me, facultas orationis, nisi me ad has exercitationes retulissem, exaruisset. Extremum illud est, quod tu nescio an primum putes: plures jam pavones confeci, quam tu pullos columbinos. Tu istuc te Ateriano³ jure delectato: ego me hic Hirtiano. Veni igitur, si vir es, et disce jam ⁴ *περολεσόμενας*, quas quaeris: etsi sus Minervam. Sed quando, ut video, aestimationes⁵ tuas vendere non potes, neque ollam denariorum implere, Romam tibi remigrandum est. Satius est hic cruditate, quam istuc fame. Video te bona perdidisse: spero idem istuc familiares tuos. Actum igitur de te est, nisi provides. Potes mulo isto, quem tibi reliquum dicis esse, quum⁶ cantherium comedisti, Romam pervehi. Sella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam hypodidascalo proxima. Eam pulvinus sequetur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

CICERO L. PAPIRIO PAETO S.D.

TAMEN¹ a malitia non discedis. Tenuiculo apparatu significas Balbum fuisse contentum. Hoc videris dicere, cum reges tam sint continentes, multo magis consulares esse oportere. Nescis me ab illo omnia expiscatum: recta enim a porta² domum meam venisse. Neque

que hoc admiror, quod non ad tuam potius, sed illud, quod non ad suam. Ego autem primis tribus verbis, quid noster Paetus? at ille adjurans, nusquam se unquam libentius. Hoc si verbis affectus es, aures ad te afferam non minus elegantes; si autem obsonio, peto a te, ne plures esse³ balbos, quam disertos putes. Me quotidie aliud ex alio impedit. Sed, si me expediero, ut in ista loca venire possim, non committam ut te fero a me certiore factum putes. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

CICERO L. PAPIRIO PAETO S.

NON¹ tu homo ridiculus es, qui, cum Balbus noster apud te fuerit, ex me quaeras, quid de istis municipiis et agris futurum putem? quasi aut ego quidquam sciam, quod iste nesciat; aut, si quid aliquando scio, non ex isto soleam scire. Immo vero, si me amas, tu fac ut sciam, quid de nobis futurum sit. Habuisti enim in tua potestate, ex quo vel ex sobrio, vel certe ex ebrio scire posses. Sed ego ista, mi Paete, non quaero: primum, quia² de lucro prope jam quadriennium vivimus, si aut hoc lucrum est, aut haec vita, superstitem reipublicae vivere: deinde, quod scire quoque mihi videor quid futurum sit. Fiet enim quodcunque volent, qui valebunt: vale-

valebunt autem semper arma. Satis igitur nobis esse debet quidquid conceditur. Hoc si quis pati non potuit, mori debuit. Veientem quidem agrum, et Capenatem metiuntur. Hoc non longe abest a Tusculano. Nihil tamen timeo : fruor dum licet, opto ut semper liceat. Si id minus contigerit ; tamen, cum ego vir fortis, idemque philosophus, vivere pulcherrimum duxi, non possum eum non diligere, cujus beneficio id consecutus sum. Qui si cupiat esse rempublicam, qualem fortasse et ille vult, et omnes optare debemus, quid faciat, tamen non habet, ita se cum multis colligavit. Sed longius progredior. Scribo enim ad te. Hoc tamen scito, non modo me, qui consiliis non intersum, sed ne ipsum quidem principem scire, quid futurum sit. Nos enim illi servimus, ipse temporibus. Ita nec ille, quid tempora postulatura sint, nec nos, quid ille cogitet, scire possumus. Haec tibi antea non rescripsi, non quo cessator esse solem, praesertim in literis, sed cum explorati nihil haberem, nec tibi sollicitudinem ex dubitatione mea, nec spem ex affirmatione afferre volui. Illud tamen adscribam, quod est verissimum, me his temporibus adhuc de isto periculo nihil audisse. Tu tamen pro tua sapientia debebis optare optima, cogitare difficillima, ferre quaecumque erunt. Vale.

EPISTOLA XX.

CICERO PAETO.

DUPLICITER delectatus sum tuis literis, et quod ipse risi, et quod te intellexi jam posse ridere. Me autem a te ut scurram velitem¹ malis oneratum esse, non moleste tuli. Illud doleo, in ista loca venire me, ut constitueram, non potuisse. Habuisses enim non hospitem, sed contubernalem. At quem virum? non eum, quem tu es solitus promulside² conficere. Integram famem ad ovum afferro. Itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur. Illa mea, quae solebas antea laudare, O hominem facilem! O hospitem non gravem! abierunt. Nam omnem nostram de republica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in senatu sententia, commentationem causarum, abjecimus. In Epicuri nos adversarii³ nostri castra coniecimus. Nec tamen ad hanc⁴ insolentiam: sed ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, cum in sumtum habebas. Etsi nunquam plura praedia habuisti. Proinde te para: cum homine edaci tibi res est, et qui jam aliquid intelligat. *Ὀψιμαθεῖς*⁵ autem homines scis quam insolentes sint. Dediscendae tibi sunt sportellae⁶ et artolagani tui. Nos autem artis tantum habemus, ut Verrium tuum et Camillum, qua

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munditia homines! qua elegantia! vocare saepius audeamus. Sed vide audaciam. Etiam Hirtio coenam dedi; sine pavone tamen. In ea coena cocus meus, praeter jus⁷ fervens, nihil potuit imitari. Haec igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos laetos victores: qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, literis me involvo, aut scribo, aut lego. Veniunt etiam, qui me audiunt, quasi doctum hominem, quia paulo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam et gravius, et diutius, quam ulla mater unicūm filium. Sed cura, si me amas, ut valeas: ne ego, te jacente, bona tua⁸ comedim. Statui enim tibi, ne aegroto quidem, parcere. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXI.

CICERO PAPIRIO PAETO.

HERI¹ veni in Cumanum: cras ad te fortasse. Sed cum certum sciam, faciam te paulo ante certiore. Etsi M. Ceparius, cum mihi in silva Gallinaria obviam venisset, quaesivissemque quid ageres, dixit te in lecto esse, quod ex pedibus laborares. Tuli scilicet moleste ut debui: sed tamen constitui ad te venire, ut et viderem te, et viserem, et coenarem etiam. Non enim

enim arbitror cocum etiam te arthriticum habere. Expecta igitur hospitem cum minime edacem, tum inimicum coenis sumptuosis. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

CICERO PAETO S.

DUABUS tuis epistolis ¹ respondebo: uni, quam triduo ante acceperam a Zetho; alteri, quam attulerat Phileros tabellarius. Ex prioribus tuis literis intellexi pergratam ² tibi perspectum esse gaudeo. Sed, mihi crede, non perinde, ut est reapse, ex literis perspicere potuisti. Nam cum a fatis multis, non enim possum aliter dicere, et coli me videam et diligere; nemo est illorum omnium mihi te jucundior. Nam quod me amas, quod id et jampridem et constanter facis, est id quidem magnum, atque haud scio an maximum: sed tibi commune cum multis. Quod tu ipse tam amandus es, tamque dulcis, tamque in omni genere jucundus, id est proprium tuum. Accedunt non Attici, sed falsiores quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales. Ego autem, existimes licet quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus, praesertim cum eas videam primum ³ oblitus Latio, tum, cum in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas, nunc vero etiam braccatis et transalpinis

nationibus, ut nullum veteris leporis vestigium appareat. Itaque te cum video, omnes mihi Grannios, omnes Lucilios, vere ut dicam, Crassos quoque et Laelios videre videor. Moriar, si praeter te quenquam reliquum habeo, in quo possim imaginem antiquae et vernaculae festivitatis agnoscere. Ad hos lepores cum amor erga me tantus accedat, miraris, me tanta perturbatione valetudinis tuae tam graviter exanimatum fuisse? Quod autem altera epistola purgas te non dissuasorem mihi emtionis Neapolitanae fuisse, sed auctorem commorationis urbanae, neque ego aliter accepi. Intellexi tamen idem, quod his intelligo literis, non existimasse te, mihi licere, id quod ego arbitrabar, res has non omnino quidem, sed magnam partem relinquere. Catulum⁴ mihi narras, et illa tempora. Quid simile? ne mihi quidem ipsi tunc placebat diutius abesse ab reipublicae custodia: sedebamus enim in puppi, et clavum tenebamus. Nunc autem vix est in sentina locus. An minus multa senatusconsulta futura putas, si ego sim Neapoli? Romae cum sum, et urgeo forum, senatusconsulta scribuntur apud amatorem tuum, familiarem meum. Et quidem, cum in mentem venit, ponor⁵ ad scribendum: et ante audio senatusconsultum in Armeniam et Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum

factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim meolari putes. Nam mihi scito jam a regibus ultimis allatas esse literas, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim: quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam. Quid ergo est? tamen quamdiu hic erit noster hic praefectus moribus, parebo auctoritati tuae. Cum vero aberit, ad fungos me tuos conferam. Domum si habeo, in denos⁶ dies singulos sumptuariae legis dies conferam. Sin autem minus invenero, quod placeat, decrevi habitare apud te. Scio enim me nihil tibi gratius facere posse. Domum Syllanam desperabam jam, ut tibi proxime scripsi: sed tamen non abieci. Tu velim, ut scribis, cum fabris eam perspicias. Si enim nihil est in parietibus aut in tecto vitii, caetera mihi probabuntur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

CICERO PAETO S.D.

ACCUBUERAM¹ hora nona, cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. Dices, ubi? apud Volumnium Eutrapelum, et quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius, familiares tui. Miraris tam exhilaratam esse servitutem nostram? Quid ergo faciam? te consulo,

qui Philosophum audis. Angar? excruciemne me? quid assequar? Deinde quem ad finem? Vivas, inquis, in literis. An quidquam me aliud agere censes? aut possem vivere, nisi in literis viverem? Sed est earum etiam non satietas, sed quidam modus. A quibus cum discessi, etsi minimum mihi est in coena: quod tu unum² ζήτημα Dioni philosopho posuisti: tamen quid potius faciam prius, quam me dormitum conferam, non reperiō. Audi reliqua. Infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. In eo igitur, inquis, convivio Cicero ille,³ “quem adspectabant, cujus ob
“os Graii ora obvertebant sua?” Non mehercule suspicatus sum illam affore: sed tamen ne Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cum esset objectum, habere eum Laida: Habeo, inquit, non habeor a Laide. Graece hoc melius. Tu, si voles, interpretabere. Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem. Convivio delector. Ibi loquor, quod in⁴ solum, ut dicitur; et gemitum in risus maximos transfero. An tu id melius, qui etiam philosophum irriseris? Cum ille, si quis quicquam quaereret, dixisset, coenam te quaerere a mane dixeris. Ille baro te putabat quaesitum, unum coelum esset, an innumerabilia. Quid ad te? At hercule coena nunquid ad te?
ibi

ibi praesertim. Sic igitur vivitur : quotidie aliquid legitur, aut scribitur : dein, ne amicis nihil tribuamus, epulamur una non modo non contra legem, si ulla nunc lex est : sed etiam intra legem, et quidem aliquanto. Quare nihil est, quod adventum nostrum extimescas. Non multi tibi hospitem accipies, sed multi joci. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

CICERO PAETO.

RUFUM¹ istum, amicum tuum, de quo iterum jam ad me scribis, adjuvarem quantum possem, etiam si ab eo laesus essem, cum te tantopere viderem ejus causa laborare. Cum vero et ex tuis literis, et ex illius ad me missis intelligam et judicem, magnae curae ei salutem meam fuisse ; non possum ei non amicus esse, neque solum tua commendatione, quae apud me, ut debet, valet plurimum : sed etiam voluntate ac judicio meo. Volo enim te scire, mi Paete, initium mihi suspicionis, et cautionis, et diligentiae fuisse literas tuas : quibus literis congruentes fuerunt aliae postea multorum. Nam et Aquini et Fabrateriae consilia sunt inita de me, quae te video inaudisse : et, quasi divinarent, quam his molestus essem futurus, nihil aliud egerunt, nisi me ut opprimerent. Quod ego non suspicans, in-

cautior fuisset, nisi a te admonitus essem. Quamobrem iste tuus amicus apud me non eget commendatione. Utinam ea fortuna reipublicae sit, ut ille me quam gratissimum possit cognoscere. Sed haec haecenus. Te ad coenas itare desisse moleste fero. Magna enim te delectatione et voluptate privasti. Deinde etiam vereor, licet enim verum dicere, ne nescio quid illud, quod solebas, dediskas, et obliviscare coenulas facere. Nam si tum, cum habebas quos imitarere, non multum proficiebas: quid nunc te facturum putem? Spurina quidem, cum ei rem demonstrassem, et vitam tuam superiorem exposuissem, magnum periculum summae reipublicae demonstrabat, nisi ad superiorem consuetudinem tum, cum Favonius flaret, revertisses: hoc tempore ferri posse, si forte tu frigus ferre non posses. Sed mehercule, mi Paete, extra jocum, moneo te, quod pertinere ad beate vivendum arbitror, ut cum viris bonis, jucundis, amantibus tui vivas. Nihil aptius vitae, nihil ad beate vivendum accommodatius. Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitae atque victus, remissionemque animorum: quae maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviiis dulcissimus: ut sapientius nostri, quam Graeci: illi Συμπόσια, aut *Cύρδειπνα*, id est, compotationes, aut concoenationes:

tiones: nos convivia, quod tum maxime simul vivitur. Vides ut te philosophando revocare coner ad coenas? Cura ut valeas. Id foris coenitando facillime consequere. Sed cave, si me amas, existimes, me, quod jocosius scribam, abjecisse curam reipublicae. Sic tibi, mi Paete, persuade, me dies et noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi liberique sint. Nullum locum praetermitto monendi, agendi, providendi. Hoc denique animo sum, ut, si in hac cura atque administratione vita mihi ponenda sit, praeclare actum mecum putem. Etiam atque etiam vale.

EPISTOLA XXV.
CICERO PAETO. S.

AIN' tandem? insanire tibi videris, quod imitere verborum meorum, ut scribis, fulmina? tum insanires, si consequi non posses. Cum vero etiam vincas, me prius irrideas, quam te oportet. Quare nihil tibi opus est illud a² Tra-bea, sed potius *πρότευσμα* meum. Veruntamen quid tibi ego in epistolis videor? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? nec enim semper eodem modo. Quid enim simile habet epistola aut iudicio, aut concioni? quin ipsa iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo. Privatas causas
et

et eas tenues agimus subtilius : capitis, aut famae, scilicet ornatus. Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Sed tamen, mi Paete, quid tibi venit in mentem negare, Papirium quenkum unquam, nisi plebeium fuisse? fuerunt enim ³ patricii minorum gentium, quorum princeps L. Papirius Mugillanus, qui consul cum L. Sempronio Atratinus fuit, cum ante censor cum eodem fuisset, annis post Romam conditam cccxii. Sed tum ⁴ Papirii dicebamini. Post hunc, xiii fuerunt sella curuli ante L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papirius est vocari desitus. Is dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore, magistro equitum, factus est, annis post Romam conditam ccccxv, et quadriennio post consul cum C. Duilio. Hunc secutus est Cursor, homo valde honoratus : deinde L. Masso, aedilitius : inde multi Massones : quorum quidem tu omnium patriciorum imagines habeas volo. Deinde Carbones, et Turdi insequuntur. Hi plebei fuerunt, quos contempnas censeo. Nam praeter hunc C. Carbonem, quem ⁵ Damasippus occidit, civis e republica Carbonum nemo fuit. Cognovimus C. Carbonem, et ejus fratrem scurram. Quid his improbius? de hoc amico meo, Rubriae filio, nihil dico. Tres illi fratres fuere, C. Cn. M. Carbones. Marcus P. Flacco accusante, condemnatus,

natus, fur magnus ex Sicilia : Caius, accusante L. Craſſo, cantharidas ſumſiſſe dicitur. Is et tribunus plebis ſeditioſus, et P. Africano vim attuliſſe exiſtimatus eſt. Hoc vero, qui Lilybei a Pompeio noſtro eſt interfectus, improbior nemo, meo iudicio, fuit. Jam pater ejus accusatus a M. Antonio, futorio ⁶ atramento abſolutus putatur. Quare ad patres cenſeo revertare. Plebei quam fuerint ⁷ importuni, vides. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

CICERO PAETO.

AMO¹ verecundiam, vel potius libertatem loquendi. Atqui hoc Zenoni placuit, homini mehercule acuto, etſi Academiae noſtrae cum eo magna rixa eſt. Sed, ut dico, placet Stoicis, ſuo quamque rem nomine appellare. Sic enim differunt, Nihil eſſe obſcoenum, nihil turpe dictu. Nam ſi quod ſit in obſcoenitate flagitium, id aut in re eſſe, aut in verbo : nihil eſſe tertium. In re non eſt. Itaque non modo in comoediis res ipſa narratur : ut ille in Demiurgo modo, forte noſti canticum : meministi Roſcium, “ Ita me deſtituit nudum.” Totus eſt ſermo verbis tectus, re impudentior : ſed etiam in tra-goediis. Quid eſt enim illud ? “ Quae mulier una ? ” quid, inquam, eſt ? “ Uſurpata duplex cu-
bile ?

bile?" Quid? "hujus Pheraei hic cubile inire est ausus." Quid est, "Virginem me quondam invitam per vim violat"? Jupiter bone, violat? atqui idem significat: sed alterum nemo tulisset. Vides igitur cum eadem res sit, quia verba non sint, nihil videri turpe. Ergo in re non est, multo minus in verbis. Si enim quod verbo significatur, id turpe non est, verbum, quod significat, turpe esse non potest. Anum appellas alieno nomine: cur non suo potius? Si turpe est, ne alieno quidem: si non est, suo potius. Caudam antiqui penem vocabant: ex quo est propter similitudinem penicillus. At hodie penis est in obscenis. At vero Piso ille frugi in Annalibus suis queritur, adolescentes peni deditos esse. Quod tu in epistola appellas suo nomine, ille tectius penem. Sed quia multi, factum est tam obscenum, quam id verbum, quo tu usus es. Quid, quod vulgo dicitur, "Cum nos te volumus convenire," num obscenum est? Memini in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui: "Hanc culpam majorem, an illam dicam?" potuit obscenius? non inquis. Non enim ita sensit. Non ergo in verbo est. Docui autem in re non esse. Nusquam igitur est. "Liberis dare operam," quam honeste dicitur? etiam patres rogant filios. Ejus operae nomen non audent dicere. Socratem fidibus docuit nobilissimus

simus fidicen. Is Connus vocitatus est: num id obscenum putas? Cum loquimur terni, nihil flagitii dicimus; at cum bini, obscenum est. Graecis quidem, inquires. Nihil est ergo in verbo, quum et ego Graece scio: et tamen tibi dico, bini: idque tu facis, quasi ego Graece non Latine dixerim. Ruta, et menta, recte utrumque. Volo mentam pusillam ita appellare, ut rutulam: non licet. Bella tectoriola: dic ergo etiam pavimenta isto modo. Non potes. Videntur igitur nihil esse, nisi ineptias: turpitudinem nec in verbo esse, nec in re: itaque nusquam esse. Igitur in verbis honestis obscena ponimus. Quid enim? non honestum verbum est divisio? At inest obscenum, cui respondet intercapedo. Num haec ergo obscena sunt? Nos autem ridicule. Sic dicimus, ille patrem strangulavit, honorem non praefamur. Sin de Aurelia aliquid, aut Lollia, honos praefandus est. Et quidem jam non etiam obscena verba pro obscenis sunt. Batuit, inquit, impudenter, depfit multo impudentius. Atqui neutrum est obscenum. Stultorum plena sunt omnia. Testes, verbum honestissimum in iudicio, alio loco non nimis. At honesti colei Lanuvini, Cliternini non honesti. Quid? ipsa res modo honesta, modo turpis? supedit, flagitium est. Jam erit nudus in balneo, non reprehendes.

prehendes. Habes scholam Stoicam, ὁ σοφὸς εὐ-
 θυρρήμων ἔσῃ. Quam multa ex uno verbo tuo?
 Te adversus me omnia audere gratum est. Ego
 servo, et servabo, sic enim assuevi, Platonis ve-
 recundiam. Itaque tectis verbis ea ad te scripsi,
 quae apertissimis agunt Stoici. Sed illi etiam cre-
 pitus aiunt aequae liberos, ac ructus esse oportere.
 Honorem³ igitur kalendis Mart. Tu me diliges,
 et valebis.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER X.

EPISTOLA I.
M.T.C. L. PLANCO S.D.

NON¹ dubito, quin scias, in iis necessariis,
qui tibi a patre relictī sunt, me tibi esse
vel conjunctissimum, non his modo causis, quae
speciem habeant magnae conjunctionis, sed iis
etiam, quae familiaritate et consuetudine tenen-
tur: quam scis mihi jucundissimam cum patre
tuo et summam fuisse. Ab his initiis noster in
te

te amor profectus, auxit paternam necessitudinem, et eo magis, quod intellexi, ut primum per aetatem iudicium facere potueris, quanti quisque tibi faciendus esset, me a te in primis coeptum esse observari, coli, diligere. Accedebat non mediocre vinculum cum studiorum, quod ipsum est per se grave: tum eorum studiorum, earumque² artium, quae per se ipsae eos, qui voluntate eadem sunt, etiam familiaritate devinciunt. Expectare te arbitror, haec tam longe repetita principia quo spectent. Id primum ergo habeto, non sine magna iustaque causa hanc a me commemorationem esse factam. C.³Ateio Capitone utor familiarissime. Notae tibi sunt varietates meorum temporum. In omni genere et honorum et laborum meorum, et animus, et opera, et auctoritas, et gratia, etiam res familiaris C. Capitonis praesto fuit, et patuit et temporibus et fortunae meae. Hujus propinquus fuit T. Antistius: qui cum forte quaestor Macedoniam obtineret, neque ei successum esset, Pompeius in eam provinciam cum exercitu venit. Facere Antistius nihil potuit. Nam si potuisset, nihil ei fuisset antiquius, quam ad Capitonem, quem ut parentem diligebat, reverti: praesertim cum sciret, quanti is Caesarem faceret, semperque fecisset. Sed oppressus tantum attigit negotii, quantum recusare
non

non potuit. Cum signaretur argentum³ Apolloniae, non possum dicere eum praefuisse, neque possum negare affuisse, sed non plus duobus, an tribus mensibus. Deinde abfuit a castris: fugit omne negotium. Hoc mihi, ut testi, velim credas. Meam enim ille moestitiam in illo bello videbat, mecum omnia communicabat. Itaque abdidit se in intimam Macedoniam, quo potuit longissime a castris, non modo ut non praesset ulli negotio, sed etiam ut ne interesset quidem. Is⁴ post proelium se ad hominem necessarium, A. Plautium, in Bithyniam contulit. Ibi eum Caesar cum vidisset, nihil asperere, nihil acerbe dixit. Romam iussit venire. Ille in morbum continuo incidit, ex quo non convaluit. Aeger Corcyram venit, ibi est mortuus. Testamento, quod Romae Paulo et Marcello consulibus fecerat, heres ex parte dimidia⁵ et tertia est Capito. In sextante sunt ii, quorum pars sine ulla cujusquam querela publica potest esse: ea est ad HS xxx. Sed de hoc Caesar viderit. Te, mi Plance, pro paterna necessitudine, pro nostro amore, pro studiis, et omni cursu nostro totius vitae simillimo, rogo, et a te ita peto, ut maiore cura, maiore studio nullo possim, ut hanc rem suscipias, meam putes esse, enitare, contendas, efficias, ut mea commendatione, tuo studio, Caesaris beneficio,

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hereditatem propinqui sui C. Capito obtineat. Omnia, quae potui in hac summa tua gratia ac potentia a te impetrare, si petiissem, ultro te ad me detulisse putabo, si hanc rem impetravero. Illud fore tibi adjumento spero, cuius ipse Caesar esse optimus iudex potest: semper Caesarem Capito coluit et dilexit: Sed ipse huius rei testis est. Novi hominis memoriam. Itaque nihil te doceo. Tantum tibi sumito pro Capitone apud Caesarem, quantum ipsum meminisse senties. Ego, quod in me ipso experiri potui, ad te deferam. In eo quantum sit ponderis, tu videbis. Quam partem in republica causamque defenderim, per quos homines, ordinesque steterim, quibusque munitus fuerim, non ignoras. Hoc mihi velim credas, si quid fecerim hoc ipso in bello minus ex Caesaris voluntate, quod intellexerim scire ipsum Caesarem, me invitissimum fecisse; id feci aliorum consilio, hortatu, auctoritate. Quod fuerim moderatior, temperatiorque, quam in ea parte quisquam, id me fecisse maxime auctoritate Capitonis: cuius similis si reliquos necessarios habuissem, reipublicae fortasse nonnihil, mihi certe plurimum profuissem. Hanc rem, mi Plance, si effeceris, meam de tua erga me benevolentia spem confirmaveris; ipsumque Capitonem, gratissimum, officiosissimum, optimum virum
ad

ad tuam necessitudinem tuo summo beneficio ad-
junxeris. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.
CICERO PLANCO.

ET abfui¹ proficiscens in Graeciam: et postea-
quam de meo cursu reipublicae sum voce
revocatus, nunquam per M. Antonium quietus
fui: cujus tanta est, non insolentia, nam id qui-
dem vulgare vitium est, sed immanitas, non mo-
do ut vocem, sed ne vultum quidem liberum
possit ferre cujusquam. Itaque mihi maximae
curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satisfeci
vel aetate, vel factis, vel, si quid etiam hoc ad
rem pertinet, gloria: sed me patria sollicitat, in
primisque, mi Plance, expectatio consulatus² tui,
quae ita longa est, ut optandum sit, ut possimus ad
id tempus reipublicae spiritum ducere. Quae po-
test enim spes esse in ea republica, in qua homi-
nis impotentissimi atque intemperatissimi armis
oppressa sunt omnia? et in qua nec senatus, nec
populus vim habet ullam? nec leges ullae sunt,
nec judicia, nec omnino simulacrum aliquod ac
vestigium civitatis? Sed quum acta omnia mitti
ad te arbitrabar, nihil erat, quod singulis de re-
bus scriberem. Illud autem erat amoris mei,
quem a tua pueritia susceptum non servavi so-
lum,

lum, sed etiam auxi, monere te atque hortari, ut in rempublicam omni cogitatione curaque incumberes. Quae si ad tuum tempus perducitur, facilis gubernatio est. Ut perducatur autem, magnae cum diligentiae est, tum etiam fortunae. Sed et te aliquanto ante, ut spero, habebimus, et, praeterquam quod reipublicae consulere debemus, tamen tuae dignitati ita favemus, ut omne nostrum consilium, studium, officium, operam, laborem, diligentiam ad amplitudinem tuam conferamus. Ita facillime et reipublicae, quae mihi carissima est, et amicitiae nostrae, quam sanctissime nobis colendam puto, me intelligo satisfacturum. Furnium³ nostrum tanti a te fieri, quantum ipsius et humanitas et dignitas postulat, nec miror, et gaudeo: teque hoc existimare volo, quidquid in eum iudicii officiique contuleris, id ita me accipere, ut in meipsum te putem contulisse. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

CICERO PLANCO S:

MEUM¹ studium honori tuo pro necessitudine nostra non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum, aut honeste venire potuissem. Sed nec sine periculo quisquam libere de republica sentiens, versari potest in summa impunitate gladio-
rum:

rum: nec nostrae dignitatis videtur esse, ibi sententiam de republica dicere, ubi me et melius, et proprius audiant armati, quam senatores. Quapropter in privatis rebus nullum neque officium, neque studium meum desiderabis. Ne in publicis quidem, si quid erit, in quo me interesse necesse sit, unquam deero, ne cum periculo quidem meo, dignitati tuae. In iis autem rebus quae nihilominus, ut ego absim, confici possunt, peto a te ut me rationem habere velis et salutis, et dignitatis meae. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

CICERO PLANCO S.D.

CUM¹ ipsum Furnium per se vidi libentissime, tum hoc libentius, quod illum audiens te videbar audire. Nam et in re militari virtutem, et in administranda provincia iustitiam, et in omni genere prudentiam mihi tuam exposuit, et praeterea mihi non ignotam in consuetudine et familiaritate suavitatem tuam adjunxit: praeterea summam erga se liberalitatem. Quae omnia mihi jucunda, hoc extremum etiam gratum fuit. Ego, Plance, necessitudinem constitutam habui cum domo vestra ante aliquanto quam tu natus es: amorem autem erga te ab ineunte pueritia tua: confirmata jam aetate familiaritatem

liaritatem, cum studio meo, tum iudicio tuo constitutam. His de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae, quam² mihi tecum statuo esse communem. Omnia summa consecutus es, virtute duce, comite fortuna, eaque es adeptus adolescens, multis invidentibus, quos ingenio industriaeque fregisti. Nunc me, amantissimum tui, nemini concedentem, qui tibi vetustate necessitudinis potior possit esse, si audies, omnem tibi reliquae vitae dignitatem ex optimo reipublicae statu acquires. Scis profecto, nihil enim te fugere potuit, fuisse quoddam tempus, cum homines existimarent te nimis servire³ temporibus: quod ego quoque existimarem, te si ea, quae patiebare, probare etiam arbitrarer. Sed cum intelligerem quid sentires, te arbitrabar videre quid posses. Nunc alia ratio est. Omnium rerum tuum iudicium est, idque liberum. Consul es designatus, optima aetate, summa eloquentia, maxima orbitate reipublicae virorum talium. Incumbe, per deos immortales, in eam curam et cogitationem, quae tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam afferat. Unus autem est, hoc praesertim tempore, per tot annos reipublica devexata, reipublicae bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam. Haec amore magis impulsus scribenda ad te putavi, quam quod arbitrarer te monitis et praeceptis egerere.

re. Sciebam enim ex iisdem te haec haurire fontibus, ex quibus ipse hauseram. Quare modum faciam. Nunc tantum significandum putavi, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem⁴ meum, quam ostentarem prudentiam. Interea, quae ad dignitatem tuam pertinere arbitrabor, studiose diligenterque curabo. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

GRATISSIMAE¹ mihi tuae literae fuerunt, quas ex Furnii sermone te scripsisse animadverto. Ego autem praeteriti temporis excusationem affero, quod te profectum audieram: nec multo ante redisse scivi, quam ex epistola tua cognovi. Nullum enim in te officium, ne minimum quidem, sine maxima culpa videor posse praeterire. In quo tuendo habeo causas plurimas, vel paternae necessitudinis, vel meae a pueritia observantiae, vel tui erga me mutui amoris. Quare, mi Cicero, quod mea tuaque patitur aetas, persuade tibi, te unum esse, in quo ego colendo patriam mihi constituerim sanctitatem. Omnia igitur tua consilia mihi non magis prudentiae plena, quae summa est, videntur, quam fidelitatis, quam ego ex mea conscientia metior. Quare si aut aliter sentirem, certe ad-

monitio tua me reprimere, aut, si dubitarem, hortatio impellere posset, ut id sequerer, quod tu optimum putares. Nunc vero quid est, quod me in aliam partem trahere possit? Quaecunque in me bona sunt, aut fortunae beneficio tributa, aut meo labore parta, etsi a te propter amorem carius sunt aestimata, tamen vel inimicissimi iudicio tanta sunt, ut praeter² bonam famam nihil desiderare videantur. Quare hoc unum tibi persuade: quantum viribus eniti, consilio providere, auctoritate movere potuero, hoc omne reipublicae semper futurum. Non est ignotus mihi sensus tuus: neque, si facultas, optabilis mihi quidem, tui praesentis esset, unquam a tuis consiliis discreparem: nec nunc committam, ut ullum meum factum reprehendere jure possis. Sum in expectatione omnium rerum, quid in Gallia³ citeriore, quid in urbe mense Januario geratur, ut sciam. Interim maximam hic sollicitudinem curamque sustineo, ne inter aliena vitia hae gentes nostra mala suam putent⁴ occasionem. Quod si proinde, ut ipse mereor, mihi successerit, certe et tibi, cui maxime cupio, et omnibus viris bonis satisfaciam. Fac valeas, meque⁵ mutuo diligas.

EPISTOLA VI.

CICERO PLANCO S.

BINAS¹ a te accepi literas eodem exemplo: quod ipsum argumento mihi fuit diligentiae tuae. Intellexi enim te laborare, ut ad me mihi expectatissimae literae perferrentur. Ex quibus cepi fructum duplicem, mihi in comparatione difficilem ad judicandum, amoremne erga me tuum, an animum in rempublicam pluris aestimandum putarem. Est omnino patriae caritas, meo quidem iudicio, maxima: sed amor voluntatisque conjunctio plus certe habet suavitatis. Itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis, benevolentiaeque ejus, quam erga me a pueritia contulisses, caeterarumque rerum, quae ad eum sententiam pertinebant, incredibilem² mihi laetitiam attulerunt. Rursus declaratio animi tui, quem haberes de republica, quemque habiturus esses, mihi erat jucundissima. Eoque major erat haec laetitia, quod ad illa superiora accedebat. Itaque te non hortor solum, mi Plance, sed plane etiam oro, quod feci his literis, quibus tu humanissime respondisti, ut tota mente omnique animi impetu in rempublicam incumbas. Nihil est, quod tibi majori fructui gloriaeque esse possit: nec quidquam ex omnibus rebus

bus humanis est praeclarius, aut praestantius, quam de republica bene mereri. Adhuc enim patitur tua summa humanitas et sapientia me, quod sentiam, libere dicere. Fortuna suffragante videris res maximas consecutus: quod quamquam sine virtute non potuisses, tamen ex maxima parte ea, quae es adeptus, fortunae temporibusque tribuuntur. His temporibus difficillimis, reipublicae quidquid subveneris, id erit totum et ³ proprium tuum. Incredibile est omnium civium, latronibus exceptis, odium in Antonium. Magna spes in te, et in tuo exercitu magna expectatio. Cujus, per deos, gratiae, gloriaeque cave tempus amittas. Sic moneo, ut filium; sic faveo ut mihi; sic hortor, ut et pro patria, et amicissimum.

EPISTOLA VII.

CICERO PLANCO.

QUAE ¹ locutus est Furnius noster de animo tuo in rempublicam, ea gratissima fuerunt senatui, populoque Romano probatissima. Quae autem recitatae literae sunt in senatu, nequaquam consentire cum Furnii oratione visae sunt. Pacis enim auctor eras, cum ² collega tuus, vir clarissimus, a foedissimis latronibus obsideretur: qui aut positis armis pacem petere debent, aut, si pug-

pugnantes eam postulant, victoria pax, non pactione parienda est. Sed de pace literae vel Lepidi, vel tuae, quam in partem acceptae sint, ex viro optimo, fratre tuo, et ex C. Furnio poteris cognoscere. Me autem impulit tui caritas, ut, quanquam nec tibi ipsi consilium deesset, et fratris Furniique benevolentia fidelisque prudentia tibi praesto esset futura, vellem tamen meae quoque auctoritatis, pro plurimis nostris necessitudinibus, praeceptum ad te aliquod pervenire. Crede igitur mihi, Plance, omnes, quos adhuc gradus dignitatis consecutus sis, es autem adeptus amplissimos, eos honorum vocabula habituros, non dignitatis insignia, nisi te cum libertate populi Romani, et cum senatus auctoritate conjunxeris. Sejunge te, quaeso, aliquando ab iis, cum quibus te non tuum judicium, sed temporum vincla conjunxerunt. Complures in perturbatione reipublicae consules dicti, quorum nemo consularis habitus, nisi qui animo exstitit in rempublicam³ consulari. Talem igitur te esse oportet, qui primum te ab impiorum civium, tui dissimillimorum, societate sejungas: deinde et senatui bonisque omnibus auctorem, principem, ducem praebeas: postremo, ut pacem esse judices non in armis positis, sed in abjecto armorum et servitutis metu. Haec si et
ages,

ages, et senties, tum eris non modo consul, et consularis sed magnus etiam et consul et consularis. Sin aliter ; tua in istis amplissimis nominibus honorum non modo dignitas nulla erit, sed erit summa deformitas. Haec, impulsus benevolentia, scripsi paulo severius, quae tu in experiendo ea ratione, quae te digna est, vera esse cognosces. D. XIII. Kal. Aprilis.

EPISTOLA VIII.

PLANCUS IMP. COS. DES. COSS. PR.
TRIB. PLEB. SEN. POP. PL. Q. R. S. D.

SI cui ¹ forte videor diutius et hominum expectationem, et spem reipublicae de mea voluntate tenuisse suspensam, huic prius excusandum me esse arbitror, quam de insequenti officio quidquam ulli pollicendum. Non enim praeteritam culpam videri volo redemisse, sed optimae mentis cogitata jampridem, maturo tempore enuntiare. Non me praeteribat, in tanta sollicitudine hominum, et tam perturbato statu civitatis, fructuosissimam esse professionem bonae voluntatis, magnosque honores ex ea re complures consecutos videbam. Sed, cum in eum casum me fortuna demisisset, ut aut celeriter pollicendo magna ² in spe ad proficiendum impedimenta opponerem : aut, si in eo mihi tem-

temperaviffem, majores occafiones ad opitulandum haberem, expeditius iter communis falutis, quam meae laudis effe volui. Nam quis in ea fortuna, quae mea eft, et ab ea vita, quam in me cognitam hominibus arbitror, et cum ea fpe, quam in manibus habeo, aut fordidum quidquam pati, aut perniciofum concupifcere poteft? Sed aliquantum nobis temporis, et magni laboris, et multae impenfae opus fuerunt, ut quae reipublicae bonifque omnibus polliceremur, exitu praeftaremus: neque ad auxilium patriae nudi cum bona voluntate, fed cum facultatibus accederemus. Confirmandus erat exercitus³ nobis, magnis faepe praemiis follicitatus, ut ab reipublica potius moderata, quam ab uno infinita fperaret. Confirmandae complures civitates, quae superiore anno largitionibus conceffionibusque praemiorum erant obligatae, ut et illa vana putarent, et eadem a melioribus auctoribus petenda exiftimarent. Eliciendae etiam voluntates reliquorum, qui finitimis provinciis exercitibusque praefuerunt, ut potius cum pluribus focietatem defendendae libertatis iniremus, quam cum paucioribus funeftam orbi terrarum victoriam partiremur. Muniendi vero nosmetipfi fuimus, aucto exercitu, auxiliisque multiplicatis, ut, cum praeferremus fenfus aperte, tum etiam,
invitis

invitis quibusdam, sciri, quid defensuri essemus non esset periculosum. Ita nunquam diffitebor, multa me, ut ad effectum horum consiliorum pervenirem, et simulasse invitum, et dissimulasse cum dolore: quod, praematura denuntiatio boni civis imparati quam periculosa esset, ex casu collegae videbam. Quo nomine etiam C. Furnio legato⁴, viro forti atque strenuo, plura etiam verbo, quam scriptura mandata dedimus: ut et tectius ad vos perferrentur, et nos essemus tutiores: quibusque rebus et communem salutem muniri, et nos armari conveniret, praecepimus. Ex quo intelligi potest, curam reipublicae summae⁵ defendendae jampridem apud nos excubare. Nunc, cum deum benignitate ab omni re sumus paratiores, non solum bene sperare de nobis homines, sed explorare judicare volumus. Legiones habeo quinque sub signis, et sua fide virtuteque reipublicae conjunctissimas, et nostra liberalitate nobis obsequentes. Provinciam omnium civitatum consensu paratissimam, et summa contentione ad officia certantem: equitatus auxiliorumque tantas copias, quantas haec gentes ad defendendam suam salutem liberatamque conficere possunt. Ipse ita⁵ sum animo paratus, ut vel provinciam tueri, vel ire quo respublica vocet, vel tradere exercitum, auxilia,
pro-

provinciamque, vel omnem impetum belli in me convertere non recusam, si modo meo casu aut confirmare patriae salutem, aut periculum possim morari. Haec si jam expeditis omnibus rebus, tranquilloque statu civitatis polliceor, in damno meae laudis reipublicae commodo laetabor. Sin ad societatem integerrimorum et maximorum periculorum accedam, consilia mea aequis iudicibus ab obrectatione invidorum defendenda commendo. Mihi quidem ipsi fructus meritorum meorum in reipublicae incolumitate satis magnus est paratus: Eos vero, qui meam auctoritatem, et multo magis vestram fidem secuti, nec ulla spe decipi, nec ullo metu terreri potuerunt, ut commendatos vobis habeatis, petendum videtur.

EPISTOLA IX.

PLANCUS CICERONI

PLURA¹ tibi de meis consiliis scriberem, rationemque omnium redderem verbosius, quo magis iudicares, omnia me reipublicae praestitisse, quae et tua exhortatione excepi, et mea affirmatione tibi recepi, non minus enim a te probari quam diligi semper volui; nec te magis in culpa defensorem mihi paravi, quam praedictorem meritorum meorum esse volui: sed
bre-

breviorem me duae res faciunt, una, quod publicis literis omnia sum persecutus, altera, quod M. Varifidium, equitem Romanum, familiarem meum, ipsum ad te transire iussi, ex quo omnia cognoscere posses. Non, medius fidius, mediocri dolore afficiebar, cum alii occupare possessionem laudis viderentur: sed usque mihi temperavi, dum perducerem eo rem, ut dignum aliquid et consulatu meo, et vestra expectatione efficerem. Quod spero, si me fortuna non fefellerit, me consecuturum, ut maximo praesidio reipublicae nos fuisse et nunc sentiant homines, et in posterum memoria teneant. A te peto, ut dignitati meae suffrageris, et, quarum rerum spe ad laudem me vocasti, harum fructu in reliquum facias alacriorem. Non minus posse te, quam velle exploratum mihi est. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas.

EPISTOLA X.

CICERO PLANCO.

ETSI¹ fatis ex Furnio nostro cognoram, quae tua voluntas, quod consilium de re publica esset, tamen, tuis literis lectis, liquidius de toto sensu tuo iudicavi. Quamobrem, quanquam in uno proelio omnis fortuna reipublicae disceptat; quod quidem, cum haec legeres,

geres, jam decretum arbitrabar fore; tamen ipsa fama, quae de tua voluntate percrebruit, magnam es laudem consecutus. Itaque si consulem Romae habuiffemus, declaratum esset ab senatu cum tuis magnis honoribus, quam gratus esset conatus et apparatus tuus. Cujus rei non modo non praeteriit tempus, sed ne maturum quidem etiam nunc, meo quidem judicio, fuit. Is enim denique honos mihi videri solet, qui non propter spem futuri beneficii, sed propter magna merita claris viris defertur et datur. Quare, sit modo aliqua respublica, in qua honos elucere possit, omnibus, mihi crede, amplissimis honoribus abundabis. Is autem, qui vere appellari potest honos, non invitamentum ad tempus, sed perpetuae virtutis est praemium. Quamobrem, mi Plance, incumbe toto pectore ad laudem, subveni patriae, opitulare collegae, omnium gentium consensum et incredibilem conspiracyonem adjuva. Me tuorum consiliorum adiutorem, dignitatis fautorem, omnibus in rebus tibi amicissimum, fidelissimumque cognosces. Ad eas enim causas, quibus inter nos amore sumus, officiis, vetustate conjuncti, patriae caritas accessit, eaque effecit, ut tuam vitam anteferrem meae.

III. kal. April.

EPISTOLA XI.

CICERO PLANCO.

ET SI^r reipublicae causa maxime gaudere debeo, tantum ei te praesidii, tantum opis attulisse extremis pene temporibus; tamen ita te victorem complectar, republica recuperata, ut magnam partem mihi laetitiae tua dignitas affert, quam et esse jam, et futuram amplissimam intelligo. Cave enim putes ullas unquam literas graviores, quam tuas in senatu esse recitatas. Idque contigit cum meritorum tuorum in rempublicam eximia quadam magnitudine, tum verborum sententiarumque gravitate. Quod mihi quidem minime novum, qui et te nossem, et tuarum literarum ad me missarum promissa meminissem, et haberem a Furnio nostro tua penitus consilia cognita. Sed senatui majora visa sunt, quam erant expectata; non quo unquam de tua voluntate dubitasset; sed nec, quantum facere posses, nec, quo progredi velles, exploratum satis habebat. Itaque cum a. d. vii. idus April. mane mihi tuas literas M. Varifidius reddidisset, easque legissem, incredibili gaudio sum elatus: cumque magna multitudo optimorum virorum et civium me domo deduceret, feci continuo omnes participes meae voluptatis.

tatis. Interim ad me venit Munatius noster, ut confuerat: at ego ei literas tuas: nihil dum enim sciebat. Nam ad me primum Varisidius, idque sibi a te mandatum esse dicebat. Paulo post idem mihi Munatius eas literas legendas dedit, quas ipsi miseras, et ² eas, quas publice. Placuit nobis ut statim ad Cornutum, praetorem urb, literas deferremus; qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum. Senatus est continuo convocatus, frequensque convenit propter famam, atque expectationem tuarum literarum. Recitatis literis, oblata religio Cornuto est, pullariorum admonitu, non satis diligenter eum ³ auspiciis operam dedisse: idque a nostro collegio comprobatum est. Itaque res dilata est in posterum. Eo ⁴ autem die magna mihi pro tua dignitate contentio cum Servilio; qui cum gratia effecisset, ut sua sententia prima pronuntiaretur, frequens eum senatus reliquit, et in alia omnia discessit, meaeque sententiae, quae secunda pronuntiata erat, cum frequenter assentiretur senatus, rogatu Servilii P. Titius intercessit. Res in posterum dilata. Venit paratus Servilius, Jovi ipsi iniquus, cujus in templo res agebatur. Hunc quemadmodum fregerim, quantaque contentione Titium intercessorem abjecerim, ex aliorum te literis malo cog-

noscere. Unum hoc ex meis : senatus gravior, constantior, amicioꝝ tuis laudibus esse non potuit, quam tum fuit. Nec vero tibi senatus amicioꝝ, quam cuncta civitas. Mirabiliter enim populus R. universus, et omnium generum ordinumque consensus ad liberandam rempublicam conspiravit. Perge igitur, ut agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati : atque haec omnia quae habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanissimis splendoris insignibus, contemne, breviora, fugacia, caduca existima. Verum decus in virtute positum est, quae maxime illustratur magnis in rempublicam meritis. Eam facultatem habes maximam, quam quando complexus es, tene, perfice, tu ne minus respublica tibi, quam tu reipublicae debeas. Me tuae dignitatis non modo fautorem, sed etiam amplificatorem cognosces. Id cum reipublicae, quae mihi vita est mea carior, tum nostrae necessitudini debere me judico. Atque in his curis, quas contuli ad dignitatem tuam, cepi magnam voluptatem, quod bene cognitam mihi T. Munatii prudentiam et fidem magis etiam perspexi in ejus incredibili erga te benevolentia et diligentia. III. id. April.

EPISTOLA XII.

PLANCUS CICERONI S.

NIHIL¹ me tibi temere, aut te caeteris de me frustra recepisse laetor. Certe hoc majus habes testimonium amoris mei, quo maturius tibi, quam ceteris, consilia mea volui esse nota. In dies vero meritorum meorum fieri accessiones praevidere te spero, cogniturum magis recipio. Quod ad me attinet, mi Cicero, ita ab imminentibus malis respublica, me adjuvante, liberetur, sic honores praemiaque vestra suspicio, conferenda certe cum immortalitate, ut sine his nihil de meo studio perseverantiaque sim remissurus. Nisi in multitudine optimorum civium impetus animi mei fuerit singularis, et opera praecipua, nihil ad meam dignitatem accedere volo suffragatione vestra. Concupisco autem nihil mihi, contra quod ipse pugno, et temporis et rei te moderatorem facile patior esse. Nihil aut fero, aut exigue a patria civi tributum potest videri. Exercitum a. d. sextum Kal. Maias Rhodanum trajeci, magnis itineribus. Vienna equites mille via breviora praemisi. Ipse, si ab² Lepido non impediatur, celeritate satisfaciam: si autem itineri meo se opposuerit, ad tempus consilium capiam. Copias adduco et

numero et genere et fidelitate firmissimas. Te ut diligas me, si mutuo me facturum scis, rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIII.

CICERO PLANCO S.

O Gratam¹ famam biduo ante victoriam, de subsidio tuo, de studio, de celeritate, de copiis. Atque etiam hostibus fufis, spes omnis in te est. Fugisse enim ex proelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces. Est autem non minus gratum extrema delere, quam prima depellere. Equidem expectabam jam tuas literas, idque cum multis. Sperabamque etiam Lepidum, reipublicae temporibus admonitum, tecum et reipublicae satis esse facturum. In illam igitur curam incumbe, mi Plance, ut ne quae scintilla teterrimi belli relinquatur. Quod si erit factum, et rempublicam divino beneficio affeceris, et ipse aeternam gloriam consequere. D. III. non. Mai.

EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO PLANCO.

UT¹ primum potestas data est augendae dignitatis tuae, nihil praetermisi in te ornando, quod positum est aut in praemio virtutis,

tutis, aut in honore verborum. Id ex ipso senatusconsulto poteris cognoscere. Ita enim est perscriptum, ut a me de scripto dicta sententia est: quam senatus frequens sequutus est summo studio, magnoque consensu. Ego quanquam² ex tuis literis, quas mihi misisti, perspexeram te magis iudicio bonorum, quam insignibus gloriae delectari: tamen considerandum existimavi, etiamsi tu nihil postulares, quantum tibi a republica deberetur. Tu contexes extrema cum primis. Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Aiacem, nec Achillem, sed Ulyssē appellavit πολίπορον.

EPISTOLA XV.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

IMMORTALES¹ ago tibi gratias, agamque, dum vivam. Nam relaturum me affirmare non possum. Tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse: nisi forte, ut tu gravissime disertissimeque scripsisti, ita sensurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Si de filii tui dignitate esset actum, amabilius certe nihil facere potuisses. Primae tuae sententiae infinitis cum muneribus, posteriores ad tempus arbitriumque amicorum meorum

compositae, oratio assidua, et perpetua de me jurgia cum obtrektoribus propter me notissima mihi sunt. Non mediocris adhibenda mihi est cura, ut reipublicae me civem dignum tuis laudibus praestem; in amicitia tua memorem atque gratum. Quod reliquum est, tuum munus^t uere, et me, si, quem esse voluisti, eum exitu rebusque cognoscis, defende ac suscipe. Cum Rhodanum² copias trajecissem, fratremque cum tribus millibus equitum praemissem, ipse iter ad Mutinam dirigerem; in itinere de proelio facto, Brutoque et Mutina obsidione liberatis, audiui. Animadverti nullum alium receptum Antonium reliquiasque, quae cum eo essent, habere, nisi in his partibus, duasque ei spes esse propositas, unam Lepidi ipsius, alteram³ exercitus. Quod quaedam pars exercitus non minus furiosa est, quam qui cum Antonio fuerunt, equitatum revocavi. Ipse in Allobrogibus constiti, ut perinde ad omnia paratus essem, ac res moneret. Si nudus huc se Antonius conferet, facile mihi videor per me sustinere posse, remque publicam ex vestra sententia administrare, quamvis ab exercitu Lepidi recipiatur. Si vero copiarum aliquid secum adducet, et, si decima legio veterana, quae nostra opera revocata cum reliquis est, ad eundem furorem redierit, tamen,
ne

ne quid detrimenti fiat, dabitur opera a me: idque me praestaturum spero, dum istinc copiae trajiciantur, conjunctaeque nobiscum facilius perditos opprimant. Hoc tibi spondeo, mi Cicero, neque animum, nec diligentiam mihi defuturam. Cupio mehercule nullam residuam sollicitudinem esse. Sed si fuerit, nec animo, nec benevolentiae, nec patientiae cujusquam pro vobis cedam. Do quidem ego operam, ut etiam Lepidum ad hujus rei societatem incitem, omniaque ei obsequia polliceor, si modo rempublicam respicere volet. Utor in hac re adjutoribus, et interpretibusque, fratre meo, et Laterense, et Furnio nostro. Non me impediunt privatae offensiones, quo minus pro reipublicae salute etiam cum inimicissimo consentiam. Quod si nihil profecero, nihilominus maximo sum animo, et majore fortasse cum mea gloria vobis satisfaciam. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas.

EPISTOLA XVI.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

HIS literis scriptis, quae postea accidissent, scire te, ad rempublicam putavi pertinere. Sedulitas mea, ut spero, et mihi et reipublicae tulit fructum. Namque assiduus inter-
nuntiis cum Lepido egi, ut, omissa omni contentione,

tentione, reconciliataque voluntate nostra, communi consilio reipublicae succurreret: se, liberos, urbemque pluris quam unum perditum abjectumque latronem putaret: obsequioque meo, si ita faceret, ad omnes res abuteretur. Profeci itaque per Laterensem internuntium. Fidem mihi dedit, se Antonium, si prohibere provincia sua non potuisset, bello persecuturum: me, ut venirem copiasque conjungerem, rogavit: eoque magis, quod et Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur, et Lepidus ne mediocrem quidem equitatum habebat. Nam etiam ex paucitate ejus, non multis ante diebus, decem, qui optimi fuerant, ad me transierunt. Quibus rebus ego cognitis cunctatus non sum, in cursu bonorum consiliorum Lepidum adjuvandum putavi. Adventus meus quid profecturus esset vidi: vel quod equitatu meo persequi atque opprimere equitatum ejus possem: vel quod exercitus Lepidi eam partem, quae corrupta est, et ab republica alienata, et corrigere, et coercere praesentia mei exercitus possem. Itaque in ² Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte, uno die facto, exercitum a. d. quartum Idus Maii traduxi. Cum vero mihi nuntiatum esset, L. Antonium praemissum cum equitibus et cohortibus ad Forum ³ Iulii venisse, fratrem

fratrem cum equitum quatuor millibus, ut occurreret ei, misi a. d. v. Idus Maii. Ipse maximis itineribus cum quatuor legionibus expeditis, et reliquo equitatu subsequar. Si nos mediocris modo fortuna reipublicae adjuverit, et audaciae perditorum et nostrae sollicitudinis hic finem reperiemus. Quod si latro, praecognito nostro adventu, rursus in Italiam se recipere coeperit, Bruti erit officium, occurrere ei, cui scio nec consilium, nec animum defuturum. Ego tamen, si id acciderit, fratrem cum equitatu mittam, qui sequatur, Italiam a vastatione defendat. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas.

EPISTOLA XVII.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

ANTONIUS Id. ¹ Maii ad Forum Julii cum primis copiis venit. Ventidius bidui spatio abest ab eo. Lepidus ad Forum Viconii castra habet, qui locus a Foro Julii quatuor et viginti millia passuum abest, ibique me expectare constituit, quemadmodum ipse mihi scripsit. Quod si omnia mihi integra et ipse, et fortuna servarit, recipio vobis celeriter me negotium ex sententia confecturum. Fratrem ² meum assiduis laboribus concursationibusque confectum graviter se habuisse, antea tibi scripsi: sed

sed tamen cum primum posse ingredi coepit, non magis sibi, quam reipublicae se convaluisse existimans, ad omnia pericula princeps esse non recusabat. Sed ego eum non solum hortatus sum, verum etiam coegi isto proficisci: quod et illa valetudine magis conficere se, quam me juvare posset in castris: et quod acerbissimo interitu consulum rempublicam nudatam, tali cive praetore in urbanis officiis indigere existimabam. Quod si qui vestrum non probabit, mihi prudentiam in consilio defuisse sciat, non illi erga patriam fidelitatem. Lepidus tamen, quod ego desiderabam, fecit ut Apellam ad me mitteret, quo obside,³ fide illius et societatis in republica administranda uterer. Studium mihi suum L. Gellius, de tribus fratribus Sex. Gaviano probavit, quo ego interprete novissime ad Lepidum sum usus. Amicum eum reipublicae cognosse videor, libenterque ei sum testimonio, et omnibus ero, qui bene merentur. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas, dignitatemque meam, si mereor, tuearis, sicut adhuc singulari cum benevolentia fecisti.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

CICERO PLANCO.

NIHIL ¹ post hominum memoriam gloriosius, nihil gratius, ne tempore quidem ipso opportunius accidere vidi, quam tuas, Plance, literas. Redditae sunt enim frequenti senatu Cornuto, cum is frigidas sane et inconstantes recitasset literas Lepidi. Sub eas statim recitatae sunt tuae, non sine magnis quidem clamoribus. Cum rebus enim ipsis essent, et studiis, beneficiisque in rempublicam gratissimae, tum erant gravissimis verbis et sententiis. Flagitare senatus institit ² Cornutum, ut referret statim de tuis literis. Ille se considerare velle. Cum ei magnum convicium fieret cuncto a senatu, quinque tribuni plebis retulerunt. Servilius rogatus rem distulit. Ego eam sententiam dixi, cui sunt assensi ad unum. Ea quae fuerit, ex senatusconsulto cognosces. Tu, quanquam consilio non eges, vel abundas potius, tamen hoc animo esse debes, ut nihil huc rejicias: neve in rebus tam subitis, tamque angustis a senatu consilium petendum putes. Ipse tibi sis senatus. Quocunque te ratio reipublicae ducet, sequare. Cures ut ante factum aliquod a te egregium audiamus, quam futurum putarimus. Illud tibi promitto, quid-

quidquid a te erit factum, id senatum non modo ut fideliter, sed etiam ut sapienter factum, comprobaturum.

EPISTOLA XIX.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

QUID¹ in animo habuerim, cum Laevus Nervaue discefferunt a me, et ex literis quas eis dedi, et ex ipsis cognoscere potuisti, qui omnibus rebus consiliisque meis interfuerunt. Accidit mihi, quod homini pudenti et cupido satisfaciendi reipublicae bonisque omnibus accidere solet, ut consilium sequeretur periculosum magis, dum me probarem, quam tutum, quod habere posset obrectationem. Itaque post discessum legatorum, cum binis continuis literis et Lepidus me, ut venirem rogaret, et Laterensis multo etiam magis prope implorans obtestaretur, non ullam rem aliam extimescens, quam eandem quae mihi quoque facit timorem, varietatem atque infidelitatem exercitus ejus: non dubitandum putavi, quin succurrerem, meque communi periculo offerrem. ² Sciebam enim, et cautius illud erat consilium, expectare me ad Isaram, dum Brutus trajiceret exercitum, et cum collega consentiente, sicut milites faciunt, hostibus obviam ire: tamen si quid Lepidus bene
fentiens

sentiens detrimenti cepisset, hoc omne assignatum iri aut pertinaciae meae, aut timori videbam, si aut hominem offensum mihi, conjunctum cum republica non sublevassem; aut ipse a certamine belli tam necessarii me removissem. Itaque potius periclitari volui, si posset mea praesentia et Lepidum tueri, et exercitum facere meliorem, quam nimis cautus videri. Sollicitiorem certe hominem non suis contractis neminem puto fuisse. Nam quae res nullam habebat dubitationem, si exercitus Lepidi absit, ea nunc magnam affert sollicitudinem, magnumque habet casum. Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego et mihi confido, et sic percussas illius copias, Ventidiique³ Mulionis castra despicio. Sed non possum non exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest vulneris, quod prius nocere potest, quam sciri curarique possit. Sed certe nisi uno loco me tenerem, magnum periculum ipse Lepidus, magnum ea pars exercitus adiret, quae bene de republica sentit. Magnam etiam perdit hostes accessionem sibi fecissent, si quas copias a Lepido abstraxissent. Quae si adventus meus represserit, agam gratias fortunae, constantiaeque meae, quae me ad hanc experientiam excitavit. Itaque a. d. xii. kalend. Jun.

ab

ab Isara castra movi: pontem tamen, quem in Isara feceram, castellis duobus ad capita positis, reliqui, praefidiaque ibi firma posui, ut venienti Bruto exercituique ejus sine mora transitus esset paratus. Ipse, ut spero, diebus octo, quibus has literas dabam, cum Lepidi copiis me conjungam. Vale.

EPISTOLA XX.

PLANCUS CICERONI.

PUDERET¹ me inconstantiae mearum literarum, si non haec ex aliena levitate penderent. Omnia feci, quare Lepido conjuncto ad rempublicam defendendam, minore sollicitudine vestra, perditis resisterem. Omnia ei petenti recepi, et ultro pollicitus sum, scripsique tibi bi-duo ante, confidere me, bono Lepido esse usurum, communique consilio bellum administraturum. Credidi chirographis ejus, affirmationi praesentis Laterensis, qui tum apud me erat, reconciliaremque me Lepido, fidemque haberem, orabat. Non licuit diutius bene de eo sperare. Illud certe cavi, et cavebo, ne mea credulitate reipublicae² summa fallatur. Cum, in Isara flumine vno die ponte effecto, exercitum traduxissem, pro magnitudine rei celeritatem adhibens, quod petierat per literas ipse, ut maturarem venire: praesto

praesto mihi fuit stator ejus cum literis, quibus ne venirem denuntiabat, se posse per se conficere negotium, interea ad Isaram exspectarem. Indicabo temerarium meum consilium tibi, nihilominus ire decreram, existimans eum socium gloriae vitare. Putabam posse me nec de laude jejuni hominis delibare quidquam, et subesse tamen propinquis locis, ut, si durius aliquid esset, succurrere celeriter possem. Ego non malus homo hoc suspicabar. At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi literas, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum : in quibus aperte denuntiat ; videam, ne fallar : suam fidem³ solutam esse, reipublicae ne desim. Exemplar ejus chirographi Titio misi. Ipsa chirographa omnia, et quibus credidi, et ea quibus fidem non habendam putavi, Laevo Cispio dabo perferenda, qui omnibus his interfuit rebus. Accessit eo, ut milites ejus, cum Lepidus concionaretur, improbi per se, corrupti etiam per eos, qui praesunt, Canidios, Rufrenosque, et caeteros, quos cum opus erit scietis, conclamarint viri boni, pacem se velle, neque esse cum ullis pugnatueros, duobus jam consulibus⁴ singularibus occisis, tot civibus pro patria amissis, hostibus denique omnibus judicatis, bonisque publicatis. Neque hoc aut vindi-

carat Lepidus, aut sanarat. Huc me venire, et duobus exercitibus conjunctis objicere exercitum fidelissimum, auxilia maxima, principes Galliae, provinciam cunctam, summae dementiae et temeritatis esse vidi: mihiq[ue], si ita oppressus essem, remque publicam mecum prodidissem, mortuo non modo honorem, sed misericordiam⁵ quoque defuturum. Itaque rediturus sum, nec tanta munera perditis hominibus dari posse sinam. Ut exercitum locis habeam opportunis, provinciam tuear, etiam si ille exercitus descierit, omniaque integra servem, dabo operam, quoad exercitus huc summittatis, parique felicitate rempublicam hic vindicetis. Nec depugnare, si occasio tulerit, nec obsideri, si necesse fuerit, nec mori, si casus inciderit, pro vobis, paratior fuit quisquam. Quare hortor te, mi Cicero, exercitum huc trajiciendum quam primum cures, et matures prius, quam hostes magis corroborentur, et nostri perturbentur. In quo si celeritas erit adhibita, respublica in possessione victoriae, deletis sceleratis, permanebit. Fac valeas, meque diligas. Fratrem meum tibi, fortissimum civem et ad omnia paratissimum, excusam literis, qui ex labore in febriculam incidit assiduam et satis molestant? Cum primum poterit istuc recurrere, non dubitabit, ne quo loco reipublicae defit.

fit. Meam dignitatem commendatam habeas, rogo. Concupiscere me nihil oportet. Habeo te et amantissimum mei, et, quod optavi, summae auctoritatis. Tu videris, quantum et quando tuum munus apud me velis esse. Tantum te rogo in Hirtii locum me subdas, et ad tuum amorem, et ad meam observantiam. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXI.

CICERO PLANCO.

IN te¹ et in collega omnis spes est, diis approbantibus. Concordia vestra, quae senatui declarata literis vestris est, mirifice et senatus et cuncta civitas delectata est. Quod ad me scripseras de re agraria: si consultus senatus esset, ut quisque honorificentissimam de te sententiam dixisset, eam secutus essem: qui certe ego fuisset. Sed, propter tarditatem sententiarum moramque rerum, cum ea, quae consulebantur, ad exitum non pervenirent, commodissimum mihi Plancoque fratri visum est, uti² eo, quod ne nostro arbitrato componeretur, quis fuerit impedimento, arbitror te ex Planci literis cognovisse. Sed sive in senatusconsulto, sive in caeteris rebus desideras aliquid, sic tibi persuade, tantam esse apud omnes bonos tui caritatem, ut nullum genus amplissimae dignitatis excogitari possit, quod tibi

non paratum fit. Literas tuas vehementer expecto, et quidem tales, quales maxime opto. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

CICERO PLANCO.

QUANQUAM¹ gratiarum actionem a te non desiderabam, cum te re ipsa atque animo scirem esse gratissimum: tamen, fatendum est enim, fuit ea mihi perjucunda. Sic enim vidi, quasi ea, quae oculis cernuntur, me a te amari. Dices, quid antea? Semper equidem, sed nunquam illustrius. Literae tuae mirabiliter gratae sunt senatui, cum rebus ipsis, quae erant gravissimae et maximae, fortissimi animi summi-que consilii: tum etiam gravitate sententiarum atque verborum. Sed, mi Plance, incumbe ut belli extrema perficias. In hoc erit summa et gratia et gloria. Cupio omnia reipublicae causa: sed, mehercule, in ea conservanda jam defatigatus, non multo plus patriae faveo, quam tuae gloriae: cujus maximam facultatem tibi dii immortales, ut spero, dedere: quam complectere, obsecro. Qui enim Antonium oppresserit, is hoc bellum teterrimum periculosissimumque conferit. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA XXIII.

CICERO PLANCO.

ITA¹ erant omnia, quae istinc afferebantur, incerta, ut quid ad te scriberem non occurreret. Modo enim quae vellemus de Lepido, modo contra nuntiabantur. De te tamen fama constans, nec decipi posse, nec vinci: quorum alterius fortuna partem habet quandam: alterum, proprium est prudentiae tuae. Sed accepi literas a collega tuo, datas idibus Maiis: in quibus erat, te ad se scripsisse, a Lepido non recipi Antonium. Quod erit certius, si tu ad nos idem scripseris. Sed minus audes fortasse propter² inanem laetitiam literarum superiorum. Verum ut errare id, mi Plance, potuisti, quis enim id effugerit? sic decipi te non potuisse, quis non videt? Nunc vero etiam jam erroris causa sublata est. Culpa enim illa, ³“Bis ad eundem,” vulgari reprehensa proverbio est. Sin ut scripsisti ad collegam, ita se res habet, omni cura liberati sumus: nec tamen erimus prius, quam ita esse tu nos feceris certiores. Mea quidem, ut ad te saepius scripsi, haec sententia est: qui reliquias hujus belli oppresserit, eum totius belli confectorem fore: quem te et opto esse, et confido futurum. Studia mea erga te, quibus certe nulla esse majora poterunt,

erunt, tibi tam grata esse, quam ego putavi fore, minime miror, vehementerque laetor. Quae quidem tu, si recte istic erit, maiora et graviora cognosces. IIII kal. Jun..

EPISTOLA XXIV.
PLANCUS CICERONI.

NUNQUAM¹ mehercule, mi Cicero, me poenitebit maxima pericula pro patria subire, dum, si quid acciderit mihi, a reprehensione temeritatis absim. Confiterer imprudentia me lapsum, si unquam Lepido ex animo credidissem. Credulitas enim error est magis, quam culpa, et quidem in optimi cujusque mentem facillime irrepit. Sed ego non hoc vitio pene sum deceptus. Lepidum enim pulchre noram. Quid ergo est? Pudor me, qui in bello maxime est periculosus, hunc casum coegit subire. Nam si uno loco essem, verebar ne cui obrectatorum viderer, et nimium pertinaciter Lepido offensus, et mea patientia etiam alere bellum. Itaque copias prope in conspectum Lepidi Antoniique adduxi, quadragintaque millium passuum spatio relicto confedi, eo consilio ut vel celeriter accedere, vel salutariter recipere me possem. Adjunxi haec, in loco eligendo, flumen oppositum ut haberem, in quo mora transitus esset:

set: Vocontii sub manu ut essent, per quorum loca mihi fideliter pateret iter. ² Lepidus, desperato adventu meo, quem non mediocriter captabat, se cum Antonio conjunxit a. d. iv. kal. Junias: eodemque die ad me castra moverunt. Vingtī millia passuum cum abessent, res mihi nuntiata est. Dedi operam deūm benignitate, ut et celeriter me reciperem, et hic discessus nihil fugae simile haberet: non miles ullus, non eques, non quidquam impedimentorum omitteretur, aut ab illis ferventibus latronibus interciperetur. Itaque pridie nonas Junias omnes copias Isaram trajeci, pontesque, quos feceram, interrui, ut spatium ad colligendum se homines haberent, et ego me interea cum collega conjungerem, quem triduo, cum has dabam literas, expectabam. ² Laterensis nostri et fidem, et animum singularem in rempublicam semper fatebor. Sed certe nimia ejus indulgentia in Lepidum ad haec pericula perspicienda facit eum minus sagacem. Qui quidem cum in fraudem se deductum videret, manus, quas justius in Lepidi perniciem armasset, sibi afferre conatus est. In quo casu tamen interpellatus et adhuc vivit, et dicitur victurus. Sed tamen de hoc mihi parum certum est. Magno cum dolore parricidarum elapsus sum ⁴ his. Veniebant enim eodem furore in me, quo

in patriam, incitati. Iracundias autem harum rerum recentes habebant: quod Lepidum castigare non destiteram, ut extingueret bellum: quod colloquia facta improbabam: quod legatos fide Lepidi missos ad me in conspectum venire vetaveram: quod C. Catium Vestinum, tribunum militum, missum ab Antonio ad me cum literis, exceperam. In quo hanc capio voluptatem, quod certe, quo magis me petiverunt, tanto maiorem his frustratio dolorem attulit. Tu, mi Cicero, quod adhuc fecisti, idem praesta, ut viliganter nervoseque nos, qui stamus in acie, subornes. Veniat Caesar cum copiis, quas habet firmissimas: aut, si ipsum aliqua res impedit, exercitus mittatur: cuius ipsius magnum agitur periculum. Quidquid aliquando futurum fuit in castris perditorum contra patriam, hoc omne jam convenit. Pro urbis vero salute cur non omnibus facultatibus, quas habemus, utamur? Quod si vos istuc non defueritis, profecto, quod ad me attinet, omnibus rebus abunde reipublicae satisfaciam. Te quidem, mi Cicero, in dies, mehercule, habeo cariorum: sollicitudinesque meas quotidie magis tua merita exacuunt, ne quid aut ex amore, aut ex iudicio tuo perdam. Opto, ut mihi liceat jam, praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere iucundiora.

ora. Octavo idus Jun. ⁵ Cularone, ex finibus Allobrogum.

EPISTOLA XXV.

PLANCUS IMP. COS. DESIGN.
CICERONI S. D.

FACERE ¹ non possum quin in singulas res meritaque tua tibi gratias agam. Sed mehercule facio cum pudore. Neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, desiderare videtur gratiarum actionem. Neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis: et malo praesens observantia, ² indulgentia, assiduitate, memorem me tibi probare. Quod si mihi vita contingerit, omnes gratas amicitias, atque etiam pias propinquitates, in tui observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate vincam. Amor enim tuus, ac iudicium de me, utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum, an voluptatis quotidie sit allaturus, non facile dixerim. De militum commodis fuit tibi curae: quos ego non potentiae meae causa, nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio, ornari volui a senatu: sed primum, quod ita meritos iudicabam: deinde, quod ad omnes casus conjunctiores reipublicae esse volebam: novissime, ut ab omni omnium sollicitatione averfos eos, tales vobis

vobis praestare possem, quales adhuc fuerunt. Nos adhuc hic omnia integra sustinuimus. Quod consilium nostrum, etsi quanta sit aviditas hominum, non sine causa, talis victoriae, scio, tamen vobis probari spero. Non enim, si quid in his exercitibus sit offensum, magna subsidia respublica habet expedita, quibus subito impetu ac latrocinio parricidarum resistat. Copias vero nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una : in castris Bruti una veterana legio, altera bima, octo³ tironum. Ita universus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus. Quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum, nimium saepe expertum habemus. Ad hoc robur nostrorum exercituum siue Africanus exercitus, qui est veteranus, siue Caesaris accessisset, aequo animo summam rempublicam in discrimen deduceremus. Aliquanto autem proprius esse, quod ad Caesarem attinet, videbamus. Nihil destiti eum literis hortari, neque ille intermisit affirmare, se sine mora venire : cum interim aversum illum ab hac cogitatione ad alia consilia video se contulisse. Ego tamen ad eum Furnium nostrum cum mandatis literisque misi, si quid forte proficere posset. Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod⁴ ad Caesaris amorem attinet,

attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum : vel quod id familiaritate Caesaris, vivo illo, jam tueri eum et diligere fuit mihi necesse : vel quod ipse, quoad ego nosse potui, moderatissimi atque humanissimi fuit sensus : vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris, hunc filii loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum, non proinde habere turpe mihi videtur. Sed quidquid tibi scribo, dolenter mehercule magis, quam inimice facio. Quod vivit Antonius hodie, quod Lepidus una est, quod exercitus habent non contemnendos, quod sperant, quod audent, id omne Caesari acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam. Sed ex eo tempore, quo ipse mihi professus est se venire, si venire voluisset, aut oppressum jam bellum esset, aut in adversissimam illi Hispaniam cum detrimento eorum maximo detrusum. Quae mens eum, aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria, sibi vero etiam necessaria ac salutari, avocarint, et ad cogitationem consulatus ⁵bimestris, summo cum terrore hominum, et insulsa cum efflagitatione transtulerint, exputare non possum. Multum in hac re mihi videntur necessarii ejus, et reipublicae et ipsius causa proficere posse ; plurimum, ut puto, tu quoque, cujus ille tanta merita habet, quanta nemo, praeter me. Nunquam enim obliviscar, maxima ac plurima

plurima me tibi debere. De his rebus, ut⁶ exigeret cum eo, Furnio mandavi. Quod si quantam debeo, habuero apud eum auctoritatem, plurimum ipsum juvero. Nos interea duriore conditione bellum sustinemus, quod neque expeditissimam dimicationem putamus, neque tamen refugiendo commissuri sumus, ut majus detrimentum respublica accipere possit. Quod si aut Caesar se respexerit, aut Africanae legiones celeriter venerint, securos vos ab hac parte reddemus. Tu, ut instituisti, me diligas rogo, proprieque tuum esse tibi persuadeas. v. kal. Sextil. ex castris.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

CICERO FURNIO S.D.

SI¹ interest, id quod homines arbitrantur, reipublicae te, ut instituisti atque fecisti, navare operam, rebusque maximis, quae ad extinguendas reliquias belli pertinent, interesse; nihil videris melius, neque laudabilius, neque honestius facere posse. Istamque operam tuam, navitatem, animum in rempublicam celeritati praeturae² anteponendam censeo. Nolo enim te ignorare, quantam laudem consecutus sis, mihi crede, proximam Planco, idque ipsius Planci testimonio, praeterea fama, scientiaque omnium,
Quam-

Quamobrem si quid operis tibi etiam nunc restat, id maximo opere censeo persequendum. Quid enim honestius, aut quid honesto anteponendum? Sin autem satisfactum reipublicae putas, celeriter ad comitia, quando mature futura sunt, veniendum censeo: dummodo ne haec ambitiosa festinatio aliquid imminuat ejus gloriae, quam consecuti sumus. Multi clarissimi viri, cum reipublicae darent operam, annum petitionis suae non obierunt. Quod eo facilius nobis est, quod non est annus hic tibi destinatus, ut, si aedilis fuisses, post biennium tuus annus esset. Nunc nihil praetermittere videbere usitati, et quasi legitimi temporis ad petendum. Video autem, Planco consule, etsi etiam sine eo, rationes expeditas haberes, tamen splendidiorem petitionem tuam fore, si modo ista ex sententia confecta essent. Omnino plura me scribere, cum tuum tantum consilium judiciumque sit, arbitrabar non ita necesse: sed tamen sententiam meam tibi ignotam esse volebam. Cujus est haec summa, ut omnia te metiri dignitate malim, quam ambitione: majoremque fructum ponere in perpetuitate laudis, quam in celeritate praeturae. Haec eadem locutus sum domi meae, adhibito Q. fratre meo, et Caecina, et Calvisio, studiosissimis tui, cum Dardanus, libertus tuus,

inter-

intereffet. Omnibus probari videbatur oratio mea. Sed tu optime judicabis.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

M. CICERO FURNIO S.D.

LECTIS^r tuis literis, quibus declarabas, aut omittendos Narbonenses, aut cum periculo dimicandum; illud magis timui: quod vitatum non moleste fero. Quod de Planci et Bruti concordia scribis, in eo vel maximam spem pono victoriae. De Gallorum studio nos aliquando noscemus, ut scribis, cujus id opera maxime excitatum sit. Sed jam, mihi crede, cognovimus. Itaque jucundissimis tuis literis stomachatus sum in extremo. Scribis enim, si in Sextilem comitia, cito te: si jam confecta, citius, ne diutius cum periculo fatuus sis. O mi Furni, quam tu causam tuam non nosti, qui alienas tam facile discas! Tu nunc candidatum te putas, et id cogitas, ut aut ad comitia curras: aut, si jam confecta, domi tuae sis: scilicet ne cum maximo periculo, ut scribis, stultissimus sis. Non arbitror te ita sentire. Omnes enim tuos ad laudem impetus novi. Quod si, ut scribis, ita sentis; non magis te, quam de te iudicium reprehendo meum. Te adipiscendi magistratus levissimi et divulgatissimi, si ita adipiscere,

re, ut plerique, praepropera festinatio abducet a tantis laudibus, quibus te omnes in coelum jure et vere ferunt? Scilicet id agitur, utrum hac petitione, an proxima praetor fias, non ut ita de republica mereare, omni honore ut dignissimus judicare? Utrum nescis quam alte ascenderis? an pro nihilo id putas? Si nescis, tibi ignosco, nos in culpa sumus. Sin intelligis, ulla tibi est praetura, vel officio, quod pauci, vel gloria, quam omnes sequuntur, dulcior? Hac de re et ego, et Calvisius, homo magni judicii tuique amantissimus, te accusamus quotidie. Comititia tamen, quando ex his pendes, quantum facere possumus, quod multis de causis reipublicae arbitramur conducere, in Januar. mensem protrudimus. Vince igitur, et vale.

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

CICERO LEPIDO S.

QUOD¹ mihi, pro summa erga te benevolentia, magnae curae est, ut quam amplissima dignitate sis, moleste tuli, te senatui gratias non egisse, cum esses ab eo ordine ornatus summis honoribus. Pacis inter cives conciliandae te cupidum esse laetor. Eam si a servitute sejungis, consules et reipublicae et dignitati tuae. Sin ista pax perditum hominem in possessionem

fionem impotentissimi ² dominatus restitutura est, hoc animo scito esse omnes sanos, ut mortem servituti anteponant. Itaque sapientius, meo quidem iudicio, facies, si te in istam pacificationem non interpones, quae neque senatui, nec populo, neque cuiquam bono probatur. Sed haec audies ex aliis, aut certior fies literis. Tu pro tua prudentia, quid optimum factu sit videbis.

EPISTOLA XXIX.

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX.
M. T. C. S. P. D.

S V. B. E. E. V. Cum ¹ audissem Antonium cum suis copiis, praemisso L. Antonio cum parte equitatus, in provinciam meam venire: cum exercitu meo ab confluente Rhodano castra movi, ac contra eos venire institui. Itaque continuis itineribus ad Forum ² Vocontium veni, et ultra, castra ad flumen Argenteum contra Antonianos feci. P. Ventidius suas legiones tres conjunxit cum eo, et ultra me castra posuit. Habebat antea legionem secundam, et ex reliquis legionibus magnam multitudinem, sed inermorum. Equitatum habet magnum. Nam omnis ex proelio integer decessit, ita ut sint amplius equitum. Itaque ad me complures milites,

lites, et equites ab eo transfierunt, et in dies singulos ejus copiae minuuntur. Silanus et Culeo ab eo discefferunt. Nos etsi graviter ab his laesi eramus, quod contra nostram voluntatem ad Antonium ierant, tamen nostrae humanitatis et necessitudinis causa, eorum salutis rationem habuimus. Nec tamen eorum opera utimur, neque in castris habemus, neque ulli negotio praefecimus. Quod ad bellum hoc attinet, nec senatui, nec reipublicae deerimus. Quae postea egerimus, faciam te certiore. Etsi omni tempore summa studia officii, mutuo inter nos certatim constiterunt, pro nostra inter nos familiaritate, et proinde diligenter ab utroque conservata sunt; tamen non dubito, in tanto et tam repentino reipublicae motu, quin nonnulla de me falsis rumoribus a meis obrectatoribus, me indigna, ad te delata sint, quae tuum animum magnopere moverunt, pro tuo amore in rempublicam. Ea te moderate accepisse, neque temere credendum judicasse, a meis procuratoribus certior sum factus: quae mihi, ut debent, gratissima sunt. Memini enim et illa superiora, quae abs tua voluntate profecta sunt ad meam dignitatem augendam et ornandam: quae perpetuo animo meo fixa manebunt. Abs te, mi

dium diligentissime superioribus temporibus in republica administranda, quae Lepido digna sunt, perspecta habes, ut paria, aut eo ampliora reliquo tempore expectes: et proinde tua auctoritate me tuendum existimes, quo tibi plura tuo merito debeo. Vale. D. XI. kalend. Junias, ex castris, ex Ponte Argenteo.

EPI TOLA XXX.

LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX.
SENAT. POP. PL. Q. R. S. D.

SI vos liberique¹ vestri valetis, bene est ego quidem valeo. Deos, hominesque testor, Patres conscripti, qua mente et quo animo semper in rempublicam fuerim, et quam nihil antiquius communi salute ac libertate judicarem: quod vobis brevi probassem, nisi mihi fortuna proprium consilium extorfisset. Nam exercitus cunctus consuetudinem suam in civibus² observandis communi-que pace, seditione facta, retinuit: meque tantae multitudinis civium Romanorum salutis atque incolumitatis causam suscipere, ut vere dicam,³ coegit. In qua re ego vos, Patres conscripti, oro atque obsecro, ut privatis offensionibus omissis, summae reipublicae consulatis, neve misericordiam nostram, exercitusque nostri, in civili dissensione, sceleris loco ponatis. Quod si salutis
omnium

omnium ac dignitatis rationem habueritis, melius et vobis et reipublicae consuletis. Data III. kal. a Ponte Argenteo. Valete.

EPISTOLA XXXI.

CICERO AMPIO SAL.

DE meo studio erga salutem et incolumitatem tuam credo te cognosse ex literis tuorum: quibus me cumulatissime satisfecisse certo scio: nec his concedo, quanquam sunt singulari in te benevolentia, ut te saluum malint, quam ego. Illi mihi necesse est concedant, ut tibi plus, quam ipsi, hoc tempore prodesse possim: quod quidem nec destiti facere, nec desistam: et jam in maxima re feci, et fundamenta jeci salutis tuae. Tu fac bono animo magnoque sis, meque tibi nulla re defuturum esse confidas. Pridie nonas Quintiles.

EPISTOLA XXXII.

GALBA CICERONI SAL.

SEPTIMO-decimo kal. Maii, quo die Panfa in castris Hirtii erat futurus, cum quo ego eram, nam ei obviam procefferam millia passuum centum, quo maturius veniret; Antonius legiones eduxit duas, secundam, et quintam-tricesimam, et cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram

Silani, evocatorum partem. Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quatuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra possemus, legionem Martiam, cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes² praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. Cum equites Antonii apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia, neque cohortes praetoriae potuerunt, quas sequi coepimus coacti, quum eas retinere non poteramus. Antonius ad Forum³ Gallorum suas copias continebat, neque sciri volebat, se legiones habere: tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Posteaquam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa, sequi se duas legiones iussit tironum. Posteaquam angustias paludis, et filvarum transivimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. Nondum venerant legiones duae. Repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit, et sine mora concurrat. Primo ita pugnatum est, ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari: etsi dexterius cornu, in quo eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem tricesimam-quintam Antonii, ut amplius⁴ passus ultra aciem, quo loco steterat, processerit. Itaque cum equites nostrum cornu circumire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem armaturam opponere Maurorum

rorum equitibus, ne averfos nostros aggrederen-
 tur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos,
 Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente
 equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum, quae
 veniebat ex castris, scuto^s rejecto. Antoniani me
 insequi, nostri pila conijcere velle. Ita nescio
 quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris
 cognitus. In ipsa AEmilia, ubi cohors Caesaris
 praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu fini-
 sterius, quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legio-
 nis duae cohortes erant, et cohors praetoria,
 pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu cir-
 cuibantur, quo vel plurimum valet Antonius.
 Cum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, reci-
 pere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius,
 tanquam victor, castra putavit se posse capere.
 Quo cum venit, complures ibi amisit, nec egit
 quidquam. Audita re, Hirtius cum cohortibus
 viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra
 occurrit, copiasque ejus omnes delevit, fugavit,
 eodemque^s loco, ubi erat pugnatum ad Forum
 Gallorum. Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis
 quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. Hir-
 tius in ea castra rediit unde Pansa exierat, ubi
 duas legiones reliquerat, quae ab Antonio erant
 oppugnatae. Sic partem majorem suarum co-
 piarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id

tamen sine aliqua jactura cohortium praetorianarum nostrarum, et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae ⁶ duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. D. XII. kalend. Maii, ex castris.

EPISTOLA XXXIII.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI S. D.

MINIME ¹ mirum tibi debet videri, nihil me scripsisse de republica postea quam itum est ad arma. Nam saltus ² Castulonensis, qui semper tenuit nostros tabellarios, etsi nunc frequentioribus latrociniis infestior factus est, tamen nequaquam tanta in mora est, quanta qui locis omnibus dispositi ab utraque parte scrutantur tabellarios, et retinent. Itaque nisi nave perlatae literae essent, omnino nescirem quid istic fieret. Nunc vero nactus occasionem, posteaquam navigari coeptum est, cupidissime, et quam creberrime potero, scribam ad te. Ne ³ movear ejus sermonibus, quem tametsi nemo est qui videre velit, tamen nequaquam proinde ac dignus est, oderunt homines, periculum non est. Adeo est enim invisus mihi, ut nihil non acerbum putem, quod commune cum illo sit. Natura autem mea et studia trahunt me ad pacis et libertatis cupiditatem. Itaque illud initium ⁴

civilis

civilis belli saepe deflevi. Cum vero non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam: ea castra fugi, in quibus plane tutum me ab insidiis inimici sciebam non futurum. Compulsus eo, quo minime volebam, ne in extremis essem, plane pericula non dubitanter adii. Caesarem vero, quod me in tanta fortuna modo cognitum, vetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit, dilexi summa cum pietate et fide. Quae mea sententia gerere mihi licuit, ita feci, ut optimus quisque maxime probarit. Quod iussus sum eo tempore, id ita feci, ut appareret invito imperatum esse. Cujus facti injustissima invidia erudire me potuit, quam jucunda libertas, et quam misera sub dominatione vita esset. Ita, si id agitur, ut rursus in potestate omnia unius sint, quicumque is est, ei me profiteor inimicum. Nec periculum est ullum, quod pro libertate aut refugiam aut⁵ deprecer. Sed consules neque senatusconsulto, neque literis praeceperant mihi, quid facerem. Unas enim post idus Martias demum a Pansa literas accepi, in quibus hortatur me, ut senatui scribam, me et exercitum in potestate ejus futurum. Quod, cum Lepidus concionaretur, atque omnibus scriberet, se consentire cum Antonio, maxime⁶ contrarium fuit. Nam quibus com meatibus,

invito illo, per illius provinciam legiones ducere? aut, si cetera transissem, num etiam Alpes poteram transvolare, quae praesidio illius tenentur? Adde huc, quod perferri literae nulla conditione potuerunt. Sexcentis enim locis excutuntur, deinde etiam retinentur a Lepido tabellarii. Illud me Cordubae pro concione dixisse nemo vocabit in dubium, provinciam me nulli, nisi qui ab senatu missus venisset, traditurum. Nam de legione tricesima tradenda quantas habuerim⁷ conciones, quid ego scribam? Qua tradita, quanto pro republica infirmior futurus fuerim, quis ignorat? Hac enim legione noli acrius aut pugnacius quidquam putare. Quare eum me existima esse, qui primum pacis cupidissimus sim, omnes enim cives plane studeo esse salvos: deinde, qui et me, et rempublicam vindicare in libertatem paratus sim. Quod familiarem⁸ meum tuorum numero habes, opinione tua mihi gratius est. Invideo illi tamen, quod ambulat et jocatur tecum. Quaeres, quanti aestimem? si unquam licuerit vivere in otio, experieris. Nulum enim vestigium abs te recessurus sum. Illud vehementer admiror, non scripsisse te mihi, manendo in provincia, an ducendo exercitum in Italiam, reipublicae magis satisfacere possim. Ego quidem, etsi mihi tutius ac minus laboriosum

sum est manere, tamen quia video tali tempore multo magis legionibus opus esse, quam provinciis, quae praesertim recuperari nullo negotio possunt, constitui, ut nunc est, cum exercitu proficisci. Deinde ex literis, quas ⁹ Pansae misi, cognosces omnia. Nam tibi earum exemplar misi. xvii. kal. April. Cordubae. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXXIV.

POLLIO CICERONI S. P.

S V. B. E. E. Q. V. Quod tardius ¹ certior fierem de proeliis apud Mutinam factis, Lepidus effecit, qui meos tabellarios novem dies retinuit: tametsi tantam calamitatem reipublicae quam tardissime audire optandum est, sed illis, qui prodesse nihil possunt, neque mederi. Atque utinam eodem senatusconsulto, quo Plancum et Lepidum in Italiam arcessistis, me quoque jussissetis venire. Profecto non accepisset respublica hoc vulnus. Quo si qui laetantur in praesentia, quia videntur et duces et veterani Caesaris partium interiisse, tamen postmodum necesse est doleant, cum vastitatem Italiae respexerint. Nam et robur, et soboles militum interiit, si quidem, quae nuntiantur, ulla ex parte vera sunt. Neque ego non videbam, quanto usui reipublicae essem futurus, si ad Lepidum venissem:

venissem : omnem enim cunctationem ejus discussissem, praesertim adjutore Planco. Sed scribenti ad me ejusmodi literas, quas leges, et concionibus, videlicet quas Narbone habuisse dicitur, similes, palparer² plane necesse erat, si vellem commeatus, per provinciam ejus iter faciens, habere. Praeterea verebar, ne si ante quam ego incoepta perficerem, proelium confectum esset, ipsum meum consilium raperent in contrariam partem obtrectatores mei, propter amicitiam, quae mihi cum Antonio, non major tamen quam Planco, fuit. Itaque a Gadibus mense Aprilibus tabellariis in duas naves impositis, et tibi, et consulibus, et Octaviano scripsi, ut me faceretis certiores, quonam modo plurimum possem prodesse reipublicae. Sed, ut³ rationem in eo, quo die proelium Pansa commisit, eodem a Gadibus naves profectae sunt. Nulla enim post hiemem fuit ante eam diem navigatio. Et hercules longe remotus ab omni suspitione futuri civilis tumultus, penitus in Lusitania legiones in hibernis collocaram. Ita porro festinavit uterque configere, tanquam nihil pejus timerent, quam ne sine maximo reipublicae detrimento bellum componeretur. Sed, si properandum fuit, nihil non summi ducis consilio gessisse Hirtium video. Nunc haec mihi scribuntur ex Gallia

lia Lepidi, et nuntiantur, Pansae exercitum concisum esse, Pansam ex vulneribus mortuum, eodem proelio Martiam legionem interiisse, et L. Fabatum, et C. Peducaeam, et D. Carfulenum. Hirtiano ⁴ autem proelio et quartam legionem, et omnes peraeque Antonii caesas: item Hirtii. Quartam vero, cum castra quoque Antonii cepisset, a quinta legione concisam esse. Ibi Hirtium quoque periisse, et Pontium Aquilam: dici etiam Octavianum cecidisse. Quae si, quod dii prohibeant, vera sunt, non mediocriter doleo: Antonium turpiter Mutinae obseffionem reliquisse, sed ⁵ habere equitum legiones sub signis armatas tres, et P. Bagienni unam, inermes bene multos. Ventidium quoque se cum legione septima, octava, nona conjunxisse: si nihil in Lepido spei sit, descensurum ad extrema, et non modo nationes, sed etiam servitia concitaturum: Parmam direptam: L. Antonium Alpes occupasse. Quae si vera sunt, nemini nostrum cessandum est, nec expectandum, quid decernat senatus. Res enim cogit huic tanto incendio succurrere omnes, qui aut imperium, aut nomen denique pop. Rom. salvum volunt esse. Brutum enim cohortes xvii. et duas non frequentes tironum legiones, quas conscripserat Antonius, habere audio. Neque tamen dubito quin omnes,
qui

qui superfint de Hirtii exercitu, confluant ad eum. Nam in delectu non multum spei puto esse: praesertim cum nihil sit periculosius, quam spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari. Anni autem tempus libertatem majorem mihi dat, propterea quia frumenta aut in agris, aut in villis sunt. Itaque proximis literis consilium meum expedietur. Nam neque deesse, neque superesse reipublicae volo. Maxime tamen doleo, adeo et longo et infesto itinere ad me veniri, ut die quadagesimo post, aut ultra etiam, quam facta sunt, omnia nuntientur.

EPISTOLA XXXV.

C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI.

BALBUS¹ quaestor, magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere auri, majore argenti coacto de publicis exactionibus, ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito, duxit se a Gadibus, et triduum tempestate retentus ad² Calpen, kal. Juniis trajecit sese in regnum Bogudis, plane bene peculiatus. His rumoribus, utrum Gades referatur, an Romam, ad singulos enim nuntios turpissime consilia mutat, nondum scio. Sed praeter furta, et rapinas, et virgis caesos socios, haec quoque fecit, ut ipse gloriari solet, eadem quae³ C. Caesar: ludis, quos Gadibus fecit,
Heren-

Herennium Gallum, histrionem, summo ludorum die annulo aureo donatum, in xiv sessum deduxit. Tot enim fecerat ordines equestris loci. Quatuorviratum ⁴ sibi prorogavit, comitia bienii biduo habuit, hoc est, renuntiavit, quos ei visum est: exules ⁵ reduxit, non horum temporum, sed illorum, quibus a seditiosis senatus trucidatus, aut expulsus est, Sex. Varo proconsule. Illa vero jam ne Caesaris quidem exemplo: quod ludis praetextam ⁶ de suo itinere ad L. Lentulum proconsulem sollicitandum posuit. Et quidem cum ageretur, flevit, memoria rerum gestarum commotus. Gladiatoribus ⁷ autem Fadium quendam, militem Pompeianum, quia, cum depressus in ludum bis gratis depugnasset, auctore sese nolebat, et ad populum confugerat: primum Gallos equites immisit in populum: collecti enim lapides sunt in eum, cum abriperetur Fadius: deinde abstractum defodit in ludo, et vivum combussit: cum quidem pransus, nudis pedibus, tunica soluta, manibus ad tergum rejectis, inambularet, et illi misero quirinti, civis Romanus natus sum, responderet: Abi nunc, populi fidem implora. Bestiis vero cives Romanos, etiam in his circulatorem ⁸ quendam auctionum, notissimum hominem Hispali, quia deformis erat, objecit. Cum hujusmodi portento

tento res mihi fuit. Sed de illo plura coram. Nunc, quod praestat, quid me velitis facere, constituite. Tres legiones firmas habeo, quarum unam vicesimam octavam, cum ad se initio belli arcessisset Antonius hac pollicitatione, quo die in castra venisset, denarios quingenos singulis militibus daturum: in victoria vero eadem praemia, quae suis legionibus; quorum quis ullum finem, aut modum futurum putavit? incitatissimam retinui, aegre mehercule: nec retinuissem, si uno loco habuissem, utpote cum singulae quaedam cohortes seditionem fecerint. Reliquas quoque legiones non destitit literis, atque infinitis pollicitationibus incitare. Nec vero minus Lepidus urfit me et suis, et Antonii literis, ut legionem tricesimam mitterem sibi. Itaque quem exercitum neque vendere ullis praemiis volui, nec eorum periculorum metu, quae victoribus illis portendebantur, diminuere, debetis existimare retentum et conservatum reipublicae esse: atque ita credere, quodcunque imperassetis, facturum fuisse, si, quod iussistis, feci. Nam et provinciam in otio, et exercitum in mea potestate tenui, finibus meae provinciae nusquam excessi. Militem non modo ⁹ legionarium, sed ne auxiliarium quidem ullum ququam misi: et, si quos equites decedentes na-

ctus

ctus sum, supplicio affeci. Quorum rerum fructum satis magnum, republica salva, tulisse me putabo. Sed respublica si me satis novisset, et major pars senatus : majores ex me fructus tulisset. Epistolam quam Balbo, cum etiam-nunc in provincia esset, scripsi, legendam tibi misi : etiam Praetextam, si voles legere, Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum, poscito. VI. idus Junias, Corduba.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER XI.

EPISTOLA I.

D. BRUTUS BRUTO SUO ET C. CASSIO S.

QUO¹ in statu simus cognoscite. Heri vespere apud me Hirtius fuit: qua mente esset Antonius, demonstravit, pessima scilicet et infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse ajebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quenquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitados animos et plebis. Quorum utrumque esse falsum, puto vos animadvertere: atque illud esse

esse verum, quod Hirtius demonstrabat, timere eum, ne, si mediocre auxilium dignitatis nostrae habuissimus, nullae partes iis in republica relinquerentur. Cum in his angustiis versarer, placitum est mihi, ut postularem² legationem liberam mihi reliquisque nostris, ut aliqua causa proficiscendi honesta quaereretur. Haec se impetraturum pollicitus est: nec tamen impetraturum confido: tanta est hominum insolentia et nostri insectatio. Ac si dederint, quod petimus, tamen paulo post futurum puto, ut hostes judicemur, aut aqua et igni interdicamur. Quid ergo est, inquis, tui consilii? dandus³ est locus fortunae, cedendum ex Italia, migrandum Rhodum, aut aliquo terrarum arbitror. Si melior casus fuerit, revertemur Romam: si mediocris, in exilio vivemus: si pessimus, ad novissima auxilia descendemus. Succurret fortasse hoc loco alicui vestrum, cur novissimum tempus expectemus potius, quam nunc aliquid moliamur? Quia, ubi consistamus, non habemus, praeter Sex. Pompeium, et Bassum Caecilium; qui mihi videntur, hoc nuntio de Caesare allato, firmiores futuri. Satis tempore ad eos accedemus, ubi, quid valeant, scierimus. Pro Cassio, et te, si quid me velitis recipere, recipiam. Postulat enim hoc Hirtius, ut faciam. Rogo vos, quam primum

mihi rescribatis. Nam non dubito, quin his de rebus ante horam quartam Hirtius certiore me sit facturus, quem in locum convenire possumus. Quo me velitis venire, rescribite. Post novissimum Hirtii sermonem, placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romae publico praesidio: quod illos nobis concessuros non puto. Magnam enim invidiam iis faciemus, Nihil tamen non postulandum putavi, quod aequum esse statuerem.

EPISTOLA II.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DESIGN.
CICERONI S.D.

SI de¹ tua in me voluntate dubitarem, multis a te verbis peterem, ut dignitatem meam tuerere. Sed profecto est ita, ut mihi persuasi, me tibi esse curae. Progressus sum ad Inalpinos cum exercitu, non tam nomen imperatorium captans, quam cupiens militibus satisfacere, firmosque eos ad tuendas nostras res efficere; quod mihi videor consecutus. Nam et liberalitatem nostram, et animum sunt experti. Cum omnium bellicosissimis bellum gessi, multa castella cepi, multa vastavi. Non sine causa ad senatum literas misi. Adjuva nos² tua sententia: quod cum facies, ex magna parte communi commodo interservieris. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA III.

M. T. C. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

S. P. D. .

PERMAGNI¹ interest, quo tibi haec tempore epistola reddita sit, utrum, cum sollicitudinis aliquid haberes; an cum ab omni molestia vacuus esses. Itaque ei praecepi, quem ad te misi, ut tempus observaret epistolae tibi reddendae. Nam quemadmodum coram, qui ad nos intempestive adeunt, molesti saepe sunt: sic epistolae offendunt non loco redditae. Si autem, ut spero, nihil te perturbat, nihil impedit: et ille, cui mandavi, satis scite et commode tempus ad te cepit adeundi; confido me, quod velim, facile a te impetraturum. L. Lamia praeturam petit. Hoc ego utor uno omnium plurimum. Magna vetustas, magna consuetudo intercedit, quodque plurimum valet, nihil mihi ejus est familiaritate jucundius. Magno praeterea beneficio ejus, magnoque merito sum obligatus. Nam Clodianis temporibus, cum equestris ordinis princeps esset, proque mea salute acerrime propugnaret, a Gabinio consule² relegatus est: quod ante id tempus civi Romano contigit nemini. Hoc cum pop. Rom. meminit, me ipsum non meminisse turpissimum est. Quapropter persuade tibi, mi Brute, me petere praeturam. Quan-

quam enim Lamia summo splendore, summa gratia est, magnificentissimo munere aedilitio; tamen, quasi ea ita non essent, ego suscepi totum negotium. Nunc, si me tanti facis, quanti certe facis, quum equitum centurias tenes, in quibus regnas, mitte ad Lupum nostrum, ut is nobis eas centurias³ conficiat. Non tenebo te pluribus. Ponam in extremo quod sentio: Nihil est, Brute, omnia cum a te expectem, quod mihi gratius facere possis.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. D. BRUTO IMP. S.D.

LAMIA¹ uno omnium familiarissime utor. Magna ejus in me non dico officia, sed merita, eaque sunt pop. Rom. notissima. Is magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis perfunctus petit praeturam, omnesque intelligunt nec dignitatem ei deesse, nec gratiam. Sed is ambitus² extare videtur, ut ego omnia pertimescam, totamque petitionem Lamiae mihi sustinendam putem. In ea re quantum me possis adjuvare, facile perspicio: nec vero, quantum mea causa velis, dubito. Velim igitur, mi Brute, tibi persuadeas, nihil me majore studio a te petere, nihil te mihi gratius facere posse, quam si omnibus tuis opibus, omni studio, Lamiam in petitione juveris, quod tu facias vehementer te rogo.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA V.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO IMP. COS.
DES. S.

LUPUS¹, familiaris noster, cum a te venisset, cumque Romae quosdam dies commoraretur, ego eram in iis locis, in quibus maxime me tuto esse arbitrabar. Eo factum est ut ad te Lupus sine meis literis rediret, cum tamen curasset tuas ad me perferendas. Romam² autem veni a. d. v. idus Decembris, nec habui quidquam antiquius, quam ut Panfam statim convenirem, ex quo ea de te cognovi, quae maxime optabam. Quare hortatione tu quidem non eges, si ne illa³ quidem in re, quae a te gesta est post hominum memoriam maxima, hortatorem desiderasti. Illud tamen breviter significandum videtur, populum Rom. omnia a te expectare, atque in te aliquando recuperandae libertatis omnem spem ponere. Tu, si dies noctesque memineras, quod te facere certo scio, quantam rem gesseris: non obliviscere profecto, quantae tibi etiam nunc gerendae sint. Si enim iste provinciam⁴ nactus erit, cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum republica bellum gerere; spem reliquam nullam video salutis.

Quamobrem te obsecro iisdem precibus, quibus S. P. Q. R. ut in perpetuum rempublicam dominatu regio liberes, ut principiis consentiant exitus. Tuum est hoc munus, tuae partes, a te hoc civitas, vel omnes potius gentes non expectant solum, sed etiam postulant. Quanquam cum hortatione non egeas, ut supra scripsi, non utar ea pluribus verbis : faciam illud quod meum est, ut tibi omnia mea officia, studia, curas, cogitationes pollicear, quae ad tuam laudem et gloriam pertinebunt. Quamobrem velim tibi ita persuadeas, me cum reipublicae causa, quae mihi vita mea est carior, tum quod tibi ipse fa-veam, tuamque dignitatem amplificari velim, tuis optimis consiliis, amplitudini, gloriae, nullo loco defuturum. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO IMP. CONS.
DES. S. D.

CUM adhibuisset ¹ domi meae Lupus me, et Libonem, et Servium, consobrinum tuum ; quae mea fuerit sententia, cognosse te ex M. Seio arbitror, qui nostro sermoni interfuit. Reliqua, quanquam statim Seium Graeceius est subsecutus, tamen ex Graecio poteris cognoscere. Caput autem est hoc, quod te diligentissime

tissime percipere et meminisse² velim, ut ne in libertate et salute populo Romano conservanda auctoritatem senatus expectes nondum liberi, ne et tuum factum³ condemnes, nullo enim publico consilio rempublicam liberaſti, quo etiam est res illa major et clarior, et adolescentem, vel puerum potius, Caesarem iudices temere fecisse, qui tantam causam publicam privato consilio susceperit : denique homines rusticos, sed fortissimos viros, civesque optimos, dementes fuisse iudices, primum milites veteranos, commilitones tuos, deinde legionem Martiam, legionem quartam, quae suum consulem hostem judicaverunt, seque ad salutem reipublicae defendendam contulerunt. Voluntas senatus pro auctoritate haberi debet, cum auctoritas impeditur metu. Postremo suscepta tibi causa jam bis est, ut non sit integrum ; primum idibus Martiis, deinde proxime, exercitu novo, et copiis comparatis. Quamobrem ad omnia ita paratus atque animatus debes esse, non ut nihil facias nisi iussus, sed ut ea geras, quae ab omnibus summa cum admiratione laudentur. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO IMP. COS.
DES. S.

LUPUS¹ noster cum Romam sexto die Mutina venisset, postridie me mane convenit, tuaque mihi mandata diligentissime exposuit, et literas reddidit. Quod mihi tuam dignitatem commendas, eodem tempore existimo, te mihi meam dignitatem commendare, quam mehercule non habeo tua cariorum. Quare mihi gratissimum facies, si exploratum habebis, tuis laudibus nullo loco nec consilium, nec studium meum defuturum. Cum tribuni plebis edixissent, senatus adesset a. d. XIII. kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de praesidio consulum designatorum referre: quanquam statueram in senatum ante kal. Jan. non venire: tamen, cum eo die ipso edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rempublicam meritis fileretur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem; aut etiam si quid de te honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in senatum veni mane: quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi senatores convenerunt. Quae de te in senatu egerim, quae² in concione maxima dixerim, aliorum te literis malo cognoscere. Illud
tibi

tibi persuadeas velim, me omnia, quae ad tuam dignitatem augendam pertinebunt, quae est per se amplissima, summo semper studio suscepturum et defensurum: quod quanquam intelligo me cum multis esse facturum, tamen appetam hujus rei principatum. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO IMP. COS.
DES. S.

EO¹ tempore Polla² tua misit, ut ad te, si quid vellem, darem literarum, cum quid scriberem, non habebam. Omnia enim erant suspensa propter expectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent nihil dum nuntiabatur. Haec tamen scribenda existimavi: primum, S. P. Q. R. de te laborare, non solum salutis suae causa, sed etiam dignitatis tuae. Admirabilis enim est quaedam tui nominis caritas, amorque in te singularis omnium civium: ita enim sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege, sic, hoc tempore, regno te rempublicam liberaturum. Romae delectus habetur, totaque Italia, si hic³ delectus appellandus est, cum ultro se offerunt omnes: tantus ardor occupavit animos hominum desiderio libertatis, odioque diutinae servitutis. De reliquis rebus a te jam expectare literas debemus, quid ipse agas,
quid

quid noster Hirtius, quid Caesar meus: quos spero brevi tempore societate victoriae tecum copulatos fore. Reliquum est, ut de me id scribam, quod te ex tuorum literis et spero et malo cognoscere, me neque deesse ulla in re, neque unquam defuturum dignitati tuae. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

D. BRUTUS M. CICERONI S.D.

PANSA^r amissio, quantum detrimenti respública acceperit, non te praeterit. Nunc auctoritate et prudentia tua prospicias oportet, ne inimici nostri, Coss. sublatis, sperent se convalescere posse. Ego, ne consistere possit in Italia Antonius, dabo operam: sequar eum confestim. Utrumque me praestaturum spero, ne aut Ventidius elabatur, aut Antonius in Italia moretur. In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto. Nam de Pollione Asinio puto te perspicere, quid facturus sit. Multae et bonae et firmae sunt legiones Lepidi et Asinii. Neque haec idcirco tibi scribo, quod te non eadem advertere sciam, sed quod mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam, si forte vobis id de hoc dubium est. Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro, quem spero,

spero, pulso Antonio, reipublicae non defuturum. Si se Alpes² Antonius trajecerit, constitui praesidium in Alpibus collocare, et te de omni re facere certiore. III. kal. Maii, ex castris Regii. Vale.

EPISTOLA X.

M. T. C. D. BRUTO IMP. S. P. D.

CUM¹ Appio Claudio, C. F. summa mihi necessitudo est, multis ejus officiis et meis mutuis constituta. Peto a te majorem in modum, vel humanitatis tuae, vel mea causa, ut eum auctoritate tua, quae plurimum valet, conservatum velis. Volo te, cum fortissimus vir cognitus sis, etiam clementissimum existimari. Magno tibi erit ornamento, nobilissimum adolescentem beneficio tuo esse salvum. Cujus quidem causa hoc melior debet esse, quod pietate adductus, propter patris restitutionem, se cum Antonio conjunxit. Quare etsi minus veram causam habebis, tamen vel probabilem aliquam poteris inducere. Natus² tuus potest hominem, summo loco natum, summo ingenio, summa virtute, officiosissimum praeterea et gratissimum, incolumem in civitate retinere. Quod ut facias, ita a te peto, ut majore studio, magisque ex animo petere non possim.

EPIST.

EPISTOLA XI.

M. T. C. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.
S. D.

ETSI¹ ex mandatis, quae Galbae Volumnio-
que ad senatum dedisti, quid timendum
suspiciendumque putares suspicabamur, tamen
timidiora mandata videbantur, quam erat di-
gnum tua populiue Romani victoria. Sena-
tus autem, mi Brute, fortis est, et habet fortes
duces. Itaque moleste ferebat se a te, quem o-
mnium quicumque fuissent fortissimum judica-
ret, timidum atque ignavum judicari. Etenim
cum, te² incluso, spem maximam omnes habu-
issent in tua virtute, florente Antonio, quis erat
qui quidquam timere profligato illo, te liberato?
Nec vero Lepidum timebamus. Quis enim esset,
qui illum tam furiosum arbitraretur, ut qui in
maximo bello pacem velle se dixisset, is in opta-
tissima pace bellum reipublicae indiceret? Nec
dubito, quin tu plus provideas. Sed tamen tam
recenti³ gratulatione, quam tuo nomine ad o-
mnia deorum templa facimus, renovatio timo-
ris magnam molestiam afferebat. Quare velim
equidem, id quod spero, ut plane abjectus et fra-
ctus sit Antonius. Sin aliquid virium forte col-
legerit, sentiet nec senatui consilium, nec po-
pulo

pulo Romano virtutem deesse, nec reipublicae, te vivo, imperatorem. XIV. kal. Jun.

EPISTOLA XII.

D. BRUTUS M. CICERONI S.D.

NON¹ mihi rempublicam plus debere arbitror, quam me tibi. Gratiorem me esse in te posse, quam isti perversi sint in me, exploratum habes: si tamen hoc temporis videatur dici causa, malle me tuum iudicium, quam ex altera parte omnium istorum. Tu enim a certo sensu et vero iudicas de nobis, quod isti ne faciant, summa malevolentia et livore impediuntur. Interpellent, quo minus honoratus sim, dum ne interpellent, quo minus respublica a me commode administrari possit. Quae quanto sit in periculo, quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus consulum, quantamque cupiditatem hominibus injiciat² vacivitas non te fugit. Satis me multa scripsisse, quae literis commendari possint, arbitror. Scio enim, cui scribam. Revertor nunc ad Antonium: qui ex fuga cum parvulam manum militum haberet inermium, ergastula solvendo, omneque genus hominum arripiendo, satis magnum numerum videtur effecisse. Hoc accessit manus Ventidii,
quae

quae trans Apenninum itinere facto difficillimo ad³ Vada pervenit, atque ibi se cum Antonio conjunxit. Est numerus veteranorum et armatorum satis frequens cum Ventidio. Consilia Antonii haec sint, necesse est: aut ad Lepidum ut se conferat, si recipitur; aut Apennino Alpibusque se teneat, et decursionibus per equites, quos habet multos, vastet ea loco in quae incurrerit; aut rursus se in Etruriam referat, quod ea pars Italiae sine exercitu est. Quod si me Caesar audisset, atque Apenninum transisset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulissem, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Caesari imperari potest, nec Caesar exercitui suo. Quod utrumque pessimum est. Cum haec talia sint: quo minus, quod ad me pertinebit, homines interpellent, ut supra scripsi, non impedio. Haec quemadmodum explicari possint, aut, a te cum explicabuntur, ne impediantur, timeo. Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad rempublicam liberandam accessi, HS⁴ mihi fuit pecuniae cccc amplius. Tantum abest ut meae rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos aere alieno obstrinxerim. Septenum⁵ numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis thesauros haberem, subsistere sumtui possem. Cum primum de Antonio

tonio exploratum habuero, faciam te certiore.
Tu me amabis ita, si hoc idem me in te facere
senferis. III non. Maii, ex castris, ⁶ Dertona.

EPISTOLA XIII.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. M. CI-
CERONI S.D.

EODEM ¹ exemplo a te mihi literae redditae
sunt, quo pueri mei attulerunt. Tantum
me tibi debere existimo, quantum persolvere dif-
ficile est. Scripsi tibi, quae hic gererentur. In
itinere est Antonius: ad Lepidum proficiscitur;
ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex
libellis ² ejus animadverti, qui in me inciderunt.
In quibus quos ad Asinium, quos ad Lepidum,
quos ad Plancum mitteret, scribebat. Ego ta-
men non habui ambiguum, et statim ad Plan-
cum misi: et biduo ab Allobrogibus, et totius
Galliae legatos expecto, quos confirmatos do-
mum remittam. Tu, quae istic opus erunt ad-
ministrari, prospicies, ut ex tua voluntate, rei-
publicae commodo fiant. Malevolentiae homi-
num in me, si poteris, occures. Si non poteris,
hoc te consolabere, quod me de statu meo nul-
lis contumeliis deterrere possunt. Pridie nonas
Maii, ex castris, finibus Statiellensium.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA XIV.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO IMP. COS.
DES. S.

TRES¹ uno die a te accepi epistolas, unam brevem, quam Flacco Volumnio dederas, duas pleniores: quarum alteram tabellarius T. Vibii attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis literis, et ex Graeceii oratione, non modo non restinctum bellum, sed etiam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem pro tua singulari prudentia quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit Antonius, omnia tua illa praeclara in rempublicam² merita ad nihilum esse ventura. Ita enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita persuasum omnibus, cum paucis inermis, perterritis metu, fracto animo fugisse Antonium. Qui si ita se habet, ut quemadmodum audiebam de Graeceio, configi cum eo sine periculo non possit, non ille mihi fugisse a Mutina videtur, sed locum belli gerendi mutasse. Itaque homines alii³ facti sunt. Nonnulli etiam queruntur, quod persecuti non fitis. Opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset, existimant. Omnino est hoc populi, maximeque nostri, in eo potissimum abuti libertate, per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed tamen providendum est, ne quae iusta querela esse possit.

possit. Res se sic habet: is bellum confecerit, qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc quam vim habeat, te existimare malo, quam me apertius scribere. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

D. BRUTUS M.T.C. S.D.

JAM non¹ ago tibi gratias. Cui enim re vix referre possum, huic verbis non patitur res satisfieri. Attendere te volo, quae in manibus sunt. Qua enim prudentia es, nihil te fugiet, si meas literas diligenter legeris. Sequi confestim Antonium his de causis, Cicero, non potui. Eram sine equitibus, sine jumentis: Hirtium² periisse nesciebam: Caesari non credebam, priusquam convenissem, et collocutus³ essem. Hic dies hoc modo abiit. Postero die mane a Pansa sum arcessitus Bononiam. Cum in itinere essem, nuntiatum mihi est eum mortuum esse. Recurri ad meas copias. Sic enim vere eas appellare possum. Sunt extenuatissimae, et inopia omnium rerum pessime acceptae. Biduo me Antonius antecessit; itinera fecit multo majora fugiens, quam ego sequens. Ille enim iit passim, ego ordinatim. Quacunque iit, ergastula solvit; homines arripuit; constitit nusquam prius, quam ad Vada venit. Quem locum volo tibi esse notum. Jacet

inter Apenninum et Alpes, impeditissimus ad iter faciendum. Cum abessem ab eo millia passuum triginta, et se jam Ventidius conjunxisset, concio ejus ad me est allata, in qua petere coepit a militibus, ut se trans Alpes sequerentur: sibi cum M. Lepido convenire. Succlamatum est, et frequenter a militibus Ventidianis, nam suos valde quam paucos habet, sibi aut in Italia pereundum esse, aut vincendum. Etiam orare coeperunt, ut ⁴Pollentiam iter facerent. Cum sustinere eos non posset, in posterum diem iter suum contulit. Hac re mihi nuntiata, statim quinque cohortes Pollentiam praemissi, meumque iter eo contuli. Hora ante praesidium meum Pollentiam venit, quam Trebellius cum equitibus. Sane quam sum gavisus. In hoc enim victoriam puto consistere. In spem ⁵venerant, quod neque Planci quatuor legiones omnibus suis copiis pares arbitrabantur, neque ex Italia tam celeriter exercitum trajici posse credebant. Quos ipsi adhuc satis arroganter Allobroges, equitatusque omnis, qui eo praemissus erat a nobis, sustinebant; nostroque adventu sustineri facilius posse confidimus. Tamen si quo etiam casu Isaram se trajecerint, ne quod detrimentum reipublicae ⁶injungant, summa a nobis dabitur opera. Vos magnum animum optimamque spem de
summa

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summa republica habere volumus, cum et nos, et exercitus nostros singulari concordia conjunctos, ad omnia pro vobis videatis paratos. Sed tamen nihil de diligentia remittere debetis, dareque operam, ut quam paratissimi et ab exercitu reliquisque rebus pro vestra salute contra sceleratissimam conspiracyem hostium configamus. Qui quidem eas copias, quas diu simulatione reipublicae comparabant, subito ad patriae periculum converterunt. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

D. BRUTUS M.T.C. S.P.D.

AD senatum quas literas misi, velim prius perlegas, et, si qua tibi videbuntur, commutes. Necessario me scripsisse ipse animadvertes. Nam cum putarem, Quartam et Martiam legiones mecum futuras, ut Druso Pauloque placuerat, vobis assentientibus, minus de reliquis rebus laborandum existimavi. Nunc vero, cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis, valde et meam et vestram vicem timeam necesse est. Vicetini² me et M. Brutum praecipue observant. His nequam patiari injuriam fieri in senatu vernarum causa, a te peto. Causam habent optimam, officium in rempublicam summum, genus hominum adversariorum seditiosum, et³ inertissimum. XII. kalend. Jun. Vercellis.

EPISTOLA XVII.

M.T.C. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.
S. P. D.

ETSI ¹mihi tuae literae jucundissimae sunt, tamen jucundius fuit, quod in summa occupatione tua Planco collegae mandasti, ut te mihi per literas excusaret, quod fecit ille diligenter. Mihi autem nihil amabilius officio tuo et diligentia. Conjunctio tua cum collega, concordiaque vestra, quae literis communibus declarata est, senatui populoque Romano gratissima accidit. Quod superest, perge, mi Brute, et jam non cum aliis, sed tecum ipse certa. Plura scribere non debeo, praesertim ad te: quo magistro ²brevitatis uti cogito. Literas tuas vehementer expecto, et quidem tales, quales maxime opto. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

M.T.C. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.
S. P. D.

MIRABILITER, ¹mi Brute, laetor, mea consilia, measque sententias a te probari de decemviris, de ornando ²adolescente. Sed quid refert? mihi crede homini non glorioso, plane jam, Brute, frigeo. "Ογ^{τα}ρον enim erat me-
ura

um senatus. Id est jam dissolutum. Tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tua praeclara Mutina eruptio, fuga Antonii, conciso exercitu, ut omnium animi relaxati sint, meaeque illae vehementes contentiones tanquam *συναμαχίαι* esse videantur. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, legionem Martiam et quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla conditione ad te² posse perducī. Pecuniae, quam desideras, ratio potest haberi, ea-que habebitur. De Bruto³ arcessendo, Caesare-que ad Italiae praesidium tenendo, valde tibi assentior. Sed, ut scribis, habes obtrectatores: quos equidem facillime sustineo, sed impediunt tamen. Ex Africa legiones expectantur. Sed bellum istuc renatum mirantur homines. Nihil tam praeter spem unquam. Nam die tuo natali victoria nuntiata, in multa secula videbamus rempublicam liberatam. Novi timores retexunt⁵ superiora. Scripsisti autem ad me iis, quas idibus Maiis dedisti, modo te accepisse a Plancio litteras, non recipi a Lepido Antonium. Id si ita est, omnia facilia. Sin aliter, magnum negotium: cujus exitum ne extimescam, tuae partes sunt. Ego plus, quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum et clarissimum videre cupio. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. M.T.C.
S. P. D.

QUOD ¹pro me non facio, id pro te facere meus in te amor tuaque officia cogunt, ut timeam. Saepe enim mihi cum esset dictum, neque a me contemptum, novissime Labeo Segulius, homo sui simillimus, narrat mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse, multumque sermonem de te habitum esse : ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te questum, nisi dictum, quod diceret te dixisse, laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, ² tollendum : se non esse commissurum, ut tolli possit. Hoc ego Labeonem credo illi retulisse, aut finxisse dictum, non ab adolescente prolatum. Veteranos vero pessime loqui volebat Labeo me credere, et tibi ab iis instare periculum, maximeque indignari, quod in decemviris neque Caesar, neque ego habiti essemus, atque omnia ad vestrum arbitrium essent collata. Haec cum audissem, et jam in itinere essem, committendum nondum putavi, prius ut Alpes transgrederer, quam, quid istic ageretur, scirem. Nam de tuo periculo, crede mihi, iactatione verborum, et denuntiatione periculi sperare eos, te pertimesceto, adolescente impulsio, posse magna

con-

consequi praemia : et totam istam cantilenam ex hoc pendere, ut quam plurimum lucri faciant. Neque tamen non te cautum esse volo, et insidias vitantem. Nihil enim tua mihi vita potest esse jucundius, neque carius. Illud vide, ne timendo magis timere cogare. Et quibus rebus potest occurrere veteranis, occurras. Primum, quod desiderant de decemviris, facias; deinde, de praemiis. Si tibi videtur, agros eorum militum, qui cum Antonio veterani fuerunt, his dandos censes ab utrisque nobis. De nummis, lente, ac ratione habita pecuniae : senatum de ea re constituturum : quatuor legionibus iis, quibus agros dandos censuistis, video facultatem fore ex agris Syllanis et agro Campano. Aequaliter, aut forte agros legionibus assignari puto oportere. Haec me tibi scribere non prudentia mea hortatur, sed amor in te, et cupiditas otii, quod sine te consistere non potest. Ego, nisi valde necesse fuerit, ex Italia non excedam. Legiones armo, paro : spero me non pessimum exercitum habiturum ad omnes casus, et impetus hominum. De exercitu, quem Pansa habuit, legionem mihi Caesar non remittit. Ad has literas statim mihi rescribe, tuorumque aliquem mitte, si quid reconditum magis erit, meque scire opus esse putaris. Vale. iix. kal. Jan. Eporedia.

EPISTOLA XX.

M.T.C. D. BRUTO IMP. S.P.D.

DII isti Segulio malefaciant, homini nequissimo omnium, qui sunt, qui fuerunt, qui futuri sunt. Quid? tu illum tecum solum, aut cum Caesare, qui neminem praetermiserit, quicum loqui potuerit, cui non eadem ista dixerit? Te tamen, mi Brute, sic amo, ut debeo, quod istud, quidquid esset nugarum, me scire voluisti. Signum enim magnum amoris dedisti. Nam quod idem Segulius, veteranos queri, quod tu et Caesar in decemviris non essetis, utinam ne ego quidem essem. Quid enim molestius? Sed tamen cum ego sensissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante. Quocirca Segulium negligamus, qui res novas quaerit: non quo veterem comederit, nullam enim habuit, sed hanc ipsam recentem² novam devoravit. Quod autem scribis, te, quod pro te ipso non facias, id pro me, ut de me timeas aliquid, omni te, vir optime mihi que carissime Brute, de me metu libero. Ego enim, quae provideri poterunt, non fallar in iis; quae cautionem non habebunt, de his non ita valde laboro. Sim enim
impu-

impudens, si plus postulem, quam homini a rerum natura tribui potest. Quod mihi praecipis, ut caveam, ne timendo magis timere cogar, et sapienter et amicissime praecipis. Sed velim tibi persuadeas, cum te constet excellere hoc genere virtutis, ut nunquam extimescas, nunquam perturbare, me huic tuae virtuti proxime accedere. Quamobrem neque metuam quidquam, et cavebo omnia. Sed vide, ne tua jam, mi Brute, culpa³ futura sit, si ego quidquam timeam. Tuis enim opibus, et consulatu tuo, etiam si timidi essemus, tamen omnem timorem abjiceremus, praesertim cum persuasum omnibus esset, mihi que maxime, a te nos unice diligi. Consiliis tuis, quae scribis de quatuor legionibus, deque agris assignandis ab utrisque vestrum, vehementer assentior. Itaque cum quidam de collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, disturbavi rem, totamque vobis integram reservavi. Si quid erit occultius, et, ut scribis, reconditum, meorum aliquem mittam, quo fidelius ad te litterae perferantur. Pridie nonas Junii.

EPISTOLA XXI.

D. BRUTUS M.T.C. S.P.D.

NOS¹ hic valemus recte, et quo melius valeamus, operam dabimus. Lepidus commode de nobis sentire videtur. Omni timore depo-

deposito, debemus libere reipublicae consulere. Quod si omnia essent aliena, tamen tribus² tantis exercitibus propriis reipublicae valentibus, magnum animum habere debebas, quem et semper habuisti, et nunc, fortuna adjuvante, augere potes. Quae tibi superioribus literis mea manu scripsi, terrendi tui causa homines loquuntur. Si frenum³ momorderis, peream, si te omnes, quot sunt, conantem loqui ferre poterint. Ego, tibi ut antea scripsi, dum mihi a te literae veniant, in Italia morabor. IIX. kal. Jun. Eporedia.

EPISTOLA XXII.

CICERO D. BRUTO S. P. D.

NARRO¹ tibi, antea subirascebar brevitati tuarum literarum: nunc mihi loquax esse videor. Te igitur imitabor. Quam multa quam paucis! Te recte valere, operamque dare ut quotidie melius: Lepidum commode sentire: tribus exercitibus quidvis nos oportere confidere. Si timidus essem, tamen ista epistola mihi omnem metum absterfisses. Sed, ut mones, frenum momordi. Etenim, qui, te incluso, omnem spem habuerim in te, quid nunc putas? Cupio jam vigiliam meam, Brute, tibi tradere; sed ita ut ne desim constantiae meae. Quod scribis, in Italia te moraturum dum tibi literae meae veniant;

veniant; si per hostem licet, non erraris: multa enim Romae. Sin adventu tuo bellum confici potest, nihil sit antiquius. Pecunia expeditissima quae erat, tibi decreta est. Habes amantissimum² Servium. Nos non desumus. IIX. idus Junias.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

D.B. IMP. M.T.C. S.P.D.

IN maximo¹ meo dolore hoc solatio utor, quod intelligunt homines, non sine causa me timuisse ista, quae acciderunt. ² Deliberent, utrum trajiciant legiones ex Africa, necne: et ex Sardinia: et Brutum arcessant, necne: et mihi stipendium dent, an non decernant. Ad senatum literas misi. Crede mihi, nisi ista omnia ita fiunt, quemadmodum scribo, magnum nos omnes adituros periculum. Rogo te, videte quibus hominibus negotium detis, qui ad me legiones adducant. Et fide opus est, et celeritate. III non. Jun. ex castris.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

M.T.C. D. BRUTO S.P.D.

EXPECTANTI¹ mihi tuas quotidie literas, Lupus noster subito denuntiavit, ut ad te scriberem, si quid vellem. Ego autem, etsi, quid scriberem, non habebam, acta enim ad te mitti sciebam,

sciebam, inanem autem sermonem literarum tibi injucundum esse audiebam, brevitatem secutus sum, te magistro. Scito igitur in te et in ² collega spem omnem esse. De Bruto ³ autem nihil adhuc certi: quem ego, quemadmodum praecipis, privatis literis ad bellum commune vocare non defino. Qui utinam jam adesset: intestinum ⁴ urbis malum, quod est non mediocre, minus timeremus. Sed quid ago? non imitor λακωνισμὸν tuum? altera jam pagella procedit. Vince, et vale. xiv kal. Quintiles.

EPISTOLA XXV.

M. CICERO MATIO S.

NONDUM ¹ fatis constitui, molestiae ne plus an voluptatis attulerit mihi Trebatius noster, homo cum plenus officii, tum utriusque nostrum amantissimus. Nam cum in Tusculanum vesperi venissem, postridie ille ad me, nondum fatis firmo corpore cum esset, mane venit. Quem cum objurgarem, quod parum valetudini parceret: tum ille, nihil sibi longius fuisse, quam ut me videret. Num quidnam, inquam, novi? Detulit ad me querelam tuam: de qua prius, quam respondeo, pauca praepo-
nam. Quantum memoria repetere praeterita possum, nemo est mihi te amicus antiquior: sed
vetustas

vetustas habet aliquid commune cum multis,
 amor non habet. Dilexi te, quo die cognovi,
 meque a te diligere iudicavi. Tuus deinde discessus,
 isque diuturnus, ambitio nostra, et vitae diffi-
 militudo non est passa voluntates nostras con-
 suetudine conglutinari. Tuum tamen erga me
 animum agnovi multis annis ante bellum civile,
 cum Caesar esset in Gallia. Quod enim vehe-
 menter mihi utile esse putabas, nec inutile ipsi
 Caesari, perfecisti, ut ille me diligeret, coleret,
 haberet in suis. Multa praetereo, quae tempo-
 ribus illis inter nos familiarissime dicta, scripta,
 communicata sunt. Graviora enim consecuta
 sunt. Et initio belli civilis cum Brundisium
 versus ires ad Caesarem, venisti ad me in² For-
 mianum. Primum hoc ipsum quanti, praefer-
 tim temporibus illis? Deinde oblitum me putas
 consilii, sermonis, humanitatis tuae? quibus re-
 bus interesse memini Trebatium. Nec vero sum
 oblitus literarum tuarum, quas ad me misisti,
 cum Caesari obviam venisses in agro, ut arbi-
 tror, Trebulano. Secutum illud tempus est,
 cum me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor
 meus coegit, sive officium, sive fortuna. Quod
 officium tuum, quod studium vel in absentem
 me, vel in praesentes meos defuit? quem porro
 omnes mei et mihi et sibi te amiciores judica-
 verunt?

verunt? Veni³ Brundisium. Oblitumne me putas, qua celeritate, ut primum audieris, ad me Tarento advolaris? quae tua fuerit affectio, oratio, confirmatio animi mei fracti communium miseriarum metu? Tandem aliquando Romae esse coepimus. Quid defuit nostrae familiaritati in maximis rebus? Quonam modo me gererem adversus Caesarem, usus tuo consilio sum. In reliquis officiis, cui tu tribuisti, excepto Caesare, praeter me, ut domum ventitares, horasque multas saepe suavissimo sermone consumeres? tum, cum etiam, si meministi, ut haec φιλοσοφούμενα scriberem, tu me impulisti. Post Caesaris reditum, quid tibi majori curae fuit, quam ut essem ego illi quam familiarissimus? quod effeceras. Quorsum igitur haec oratio longior, quam putaram? quia sum admiratus, te, qui haec nosse deberes, quidquam a me commissum, quod esset alienum nostra amicitia, credidisse. Nam praeter haec, quae commemoravi, quae testata sunt et illustria, habeo multo occultiora, quae vix verbis exsequi possum. Omnia me tua delectant: sed maxima cum fides in amicitia, consilium, gravitas, constantia, tum lepos, humanitas, literae. Quapropter redeo nunc ad querelam. Ego te suffragium⁴ tulisse in illa lege primum non credidi: deinde si credidissem, nunquam

quam id sine aliqua iusta causa existimarem te fecisse. Dignitas tua facit, ut animadvertatur quidquid facis: malevolentia autem hominum, ut nonnulla durius, quam a te facta sint, proferantur. Ea tu si non audis, quid dicam, nescio. Equidem, si quando audio, tam defendo, quam me scio a te contra iniquos meos solere defendi. Defensio autem est duplex. Alia sunt, quae liquido negare soleam, ut de isto ipso suffragio. Alia, quae defendam a te pie fieri et humane, ut de curatione^s ludorum. Sed te, hominem doctissimum, non fugit, si Caesar rex fuerit, quod mihi quidem videtur, in utramque partem de tuo officio disputari posse: vel in eam, qua ego uti soleo, laudandam esse fidem et humanitatem tuam, qui amicum etiam mortuum diligas: vel in eam, qua nonnulli utuntur, libertatem patriae vitae amici anteponendam. Ex his sermonibus utinam essent delatae ad te disputationes meae. Illa vero duo, quae maxima sunt laudum tuarum, quis aut libentius quam ego commemorat aut saepius: te et non suscipiendi belli civilis gravissimum auctorem fuisse, et moderandae victoriae: in quo qui mihi non assentiretur inveni neminem. Quare habeo gratiam Trebatio, familiari nostro, qui mihi dedit causam harum literarum: quibus nisi credideris, me
 omnis

omnis officii et humanitatis expertem judicaris :
quo nec mihi gravius quidquam potest esse, nec
a te alienius.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

MATIUS CICERONI S.

MAGNAM¹ voluptatem ex tuis literis cepi,
quod, quam speraram atque optaram,
habere te de me opinionem cognovi. De qua
etsi non dubitabam, tamen, quia maximi aesti-
mabam, ut incorrupta maneret, laborabam.
Conscius autem mihi eram nihil a me com-
missum esse, quod boni cujusquam offenderet
animum. Eo minus credebam, plurimis atque
optimis artibus ornato tibi temere quidquam
persuaderi potuisse, praesertim in quem mea
propensa et perpetua fuisset atque esset benevo-
lencia. Quod cum, ut volui, scio esse, respon-
debo criminibus, quibus tu pro me,² ut par
erat, tua singulari bonitate et amicitia nostra,
saepe restitisti. Nota enim mihi sunt, quae in
me post Caesaris mortem contulerint. Vitio
mihi dant, quod mortem hominis necessarii gra-
viter fero, atque eum, quem dilexi, periisse in-
dignor. Ajunt enim, Patriam amicitiae praepo-
nendam esse: perinde ac si jam vicerint, obitum
ejus reipublicae fuisse utilem. Sed non agam
astute.

astute. Fateor me ad istum gradum sapientiae non pervenisse. Neque enim Caesarem in dissensione civili sum secutus: sed amicum, re quanquam offendebar, tamen non deserui: neque bellum unquam civile, aut etiam causam dissensionis probavi: quam etiam nascentem extinguere summe studui. Itaque in victoria hominis necessarii, neque honoris, neque pecuniae dulcedine sum captus: quibus praemiis reliqui, minus apud eum quam ego cum possent, immoderate sunt abusi. Atque etiam res familiaris mea lege Caesaris diminuta est: cujus beneficio plerique, qui Caesaris morte laetantur, remanserunt in civitate. Civibus victis ut parceretur, aequae ac pro mea salute laboravi. Possum igitur, qui omnes voluerim incolumes, eum, a quo id impetratum est, perisse non indignari, cum praesertim iidem homines illi et invidiae et exitio fuerint? Plecteris ergo, inquiunt, quum factum nostrum improbare audes. O superbiam inauditam! alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunito licere! At haec etiam servis semper libera fuerunt, timerent, gauderent, dolerent, suo potius, quam alterius arbitrio: quae nunc, ut quidem isti dictitant, libertatis auctores, metu nobis extorquere conantur. Sed nihil agunt. Nullius unquam periculi terroribus

ab officio, aut ab humanitate desciscam. Nunquam enim honestam mortem fugiendam, saepe etiam oppetendam putavi. Sed quid mihi succensent, si id opto, ut poeniteat eos sui facti? Cupio enim Caesaris mortem omnibus esse acerbam. At debeo pro civili parte rempublicam velle salvam. Id quidem me cupere, nisi et ante acta vita, et reliqua mea spes, tacente me, probat, dicendo vincere non postulo. Quare majorem in modum te rogo, ut rem potiore oratione ducas: mihique, si sentis expedire rectè fieri, credas nullam communionem cum improbis esse posse. An quod adolescens praestiti, cum etiam errare cum excusatione possem, id nunc, aetate praecipitata, commutem, ac me ipse retexam? Non faciam, neque quod displiceat committam, praeterquam quod hominis mihi conjunctissimi ac viri amplissimi doleo gravem casum. Quod si aliter essem animatus, nunquam, quod facerem, negarem: ne et in peccando improbus, et in dissimulando timidus ac vanus existimarer. At ludos, quos Caesaris victoriae Caesar adolescens fecit, curavi. At id ad privatum officium, non ad statum reipublicae pertinet. Quod tamen munus et hominis amicissimi memoriae, ac honoribus praestare etiam mortui debui, et optimae spei adolescenti, ac dignissimo

dignissimo Caesare, petenti negare non potui. Veni etiam consulis Antonii domum saepe, salutandi causa: ad quem, qui me parum patriae amantem esse existimant, rogandi quidem aliquid, aut auferendi causa, frequentius ventitare reperies. Sed quae haec est arrogantia, quod Caesar nunquam interpellavit, quin quibus vellem, atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat, tamen iis uterer, eos, qui mihi amicum eripuerunt, carpendo me efficere conari, ne quos velim diligam? sed non vereor, ne aut meae vitae modestia parum valitura sit in posterum contra falsos rumores: aut ne etiam ii, qui me non amant, propter meam in Caesarem constantiam, non malint mei, quam sui similes amicos habere. Mihi quidem si optata contingent, quod reliquum est vitae, in otio Rhodi degam: sin casus aliquis interpellarit, ita ero Romae, ut recte fieri semper cupiam. Trebatio nostro magnas ago gratias, quod tuum erga me animum simplicem atque amicum aperuit: et quod eum, quem semper lubenter dilexi, quo magis jure colere atque observare deberem, fecit. Bene vale, et me dilige.

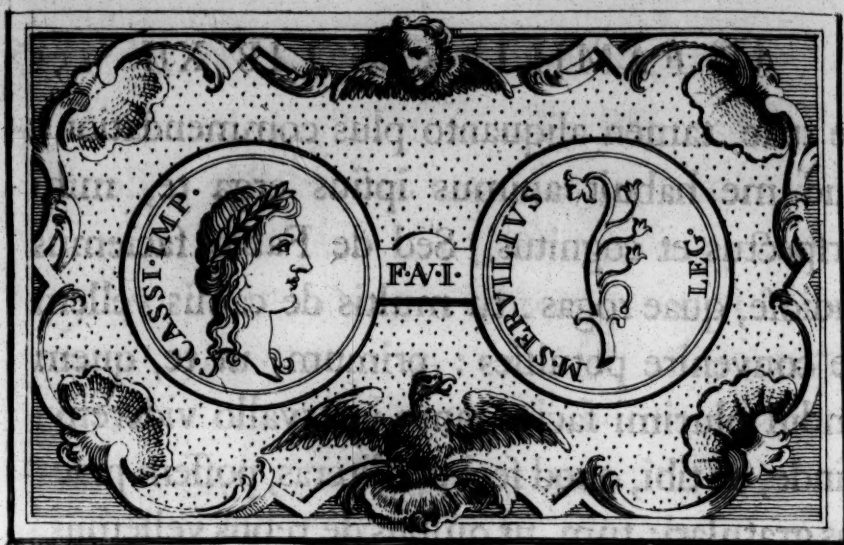
EPISTOLA XXVII.

CICERO OPPIO S.

DUBITANTI¹ mihi, quod scit Atticus noster, de hoc toto consilio profectionis, quod in utramque partem in mentem multa veniebant, magnum pondus accessit ad tollendam dubitationem² iudicium et consilium tuum. Nam et scripsisti aperte, quid tibi videretur, et Atticus ad me sermonem tuum pertulit. Semper iudicavi in te et in capiendo consilio prudentiam summam esse, et in dando fidem: maximeque sum expertus, cum initio civilis belli per literas te consuluissem, quid mihi faciendum esse censes, eundumne ad Pompeium, an manendum in Italia. Suasisti ut consulerem dignitati meae. Ex quo quid sentires intellexi, et sum admiratus fidem tuam, et in consilio dando religionem: quod,³ cum aliud malle amicissimum tuum putares, antiquius tibi officium meum, quam illius voluntas fuit. Equidem et ante hoc tempus te dilexi; et semper me a te diligere sensi: et cum abessem, atque in magnis periculis essem, et me absentem et meos praesentes a te cultos et defensos esse memini. Et post meum reditum, quam familiariter mecum vixeris, quaeque ego de te et senserim, et praedicarim, omnes, qui solent

solent haec animadvertere, testes habemus. Gravissimum vero iudicium de mea fide et de constantia fecisti, cum post mortem Caesaris et totum te ad amicitiam meam contulisti. Quod tuum iudicium, nisi mea summa benevolentia erga te, omnibusque meritis comprobaro, ipse me hominem non putabo. Tu, mi Oppi, conservabis amorem tuum, etsi⁴ more magis hoc quidem scribo, quam quo te admonendum putem, meaque omnia tuebere: quae tibi ne ignota essent, Attico mandavi: a me autem, cum paulum otii nacti erimus, uberiores literas expectato. Da operam ut valeas. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER XII.

EPISTOLA I.
M.T.C. IMP. C. CASSIO PROQUAEST.
S. P. D.

MFABIUM¹ quod mihi amicum tua com-
mendatione das, nullum in eo facio
quaestum. Multi enim anni sunt, cum ille in aere
meo est, et a me diligitur propter summam su-
am humanitatem et observantiam. Sed tamen
quod ab eo egregie diligeris, multo amicior ei
sum factus. Itaque quanquam profecerunt lite-
rae

rae tuae, tamen aliquanto plus commendationis apud me habuit animus ipsius erga te, mihi perspectus et cognitus. Sed de Fabio faciemus studiose, quae rogas: tu multis de causis vellem me convenire potuisses: primum, ut te, quem jamdiu plurimi facio, tanto intervallo viderem: deinde, ut tibi, quod feci per literas, possem praesens gratulari: tum, ut quibus de rebus vellemus, tu tuis, ego meis, inter nos communicaremus: postremo, ut amicitia nostra, quae summis officiis ab utroque culta est, sed longis intervallis temporum interruptam consuetudinem habuit, confirmaretur vehementius. Id quum non accidit, utemur bono literarum, et eadem fere absentes, quae, si coram essemus, consequemur. Unus scilicet fructus, qui in te videndo est, percipi literis non potest. Alter gratulationis est, is quidem exilior, quam si tibi te ipsum intuens gratularer. Sed tamen et feci ante, et facio nunc, tibi que cum pro rerum magnitudine, quas gessisti, tum pro² opportunitate temporis gratulor, quod te de provincia decedentem summa laus, et summa gratia provinciae profecuta est. Tertium est, ut id, quod de nostris rebus coram communicassemus inter nos, conficiamus idem literis. Ego caeterarum rerum causa tibi Romam properandum magnopere censeo. Nam et ea

quae reliqui tranquilla de te erant : et hac tua
recenti victoria tanta, clarum adventum tuum
fore intelligo. Sed si qua sunt onera tuorum, si
tanta sunt, ut ea sustinere possis, propera : nihil
tibi erit lautius, nihil gloriosius. Sin majora :
confidera, ne in alienissimum tempus cadat ad-
ventus tuus. Hujus rei totum consilium tuum
est. Tu enim scis, quid sustinere possis. Si po-
tes : laudabile atque populare est. Sin plane non
potes : absens hominum sermones facilius susti-
nebis. De me autem idem tecum his ago literis,
quod superioribus egi, ut omnes tuos nervos in
eo contendas, ne quid mihi ad hanc provinciam,
quam et senatus et populus annuam esse voluit,
temporis prorogetur. Hoc a te ita contendo, ut
in eo fortunas meas positas putem. Habes Pau-
lum nostrum nostri cupidissimum : est Curio :
est Furnius. Sic velim enitare, quasi in eo sint
mihi omnia. Extremum illud est de iis, quae
proposueram, confirmatio nostrae amicitiae, de
qua pluribus verbis nihil opus est. Tu puer me
appetisti, ego autem semper ornamento te mihi
fore duxi. Fuiſti etiam praesidio tristissimis me-
is³ temporibus. Accessit post tuum discessum fa-
miliaritas mihi cum Bruto tuo maxima. Itaque
in vestro ingenio et industria mihi plurimum et
suavitatis et dignitatis constitutum puto. Id tu
ut

ut tuo studio confirmes, te vehementer rogo:
literasque ad me et continuo mittas, et, cum
Romam veneris, quam saepissime.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. CASSIO S.P.D.

ETSI¹ uterque nostrum, spe pacis et odio ci-
vilis sanguinis abesse a belli pertinacia vo-
luit: tamen, quum ejus consilii princeps ego fu-
isse videor, plus fortasse tibi praestare ipse debeo,
quam a te expectare. Etsi, ut saepe soleo me-
cum recordari, sermo familiaris meus tecum,
et item mecum tuus, adduxit utrumque nostrum
ad id consilium, ut uno² proelio putaremus si
non totam causam, at certe nostrum judicium
definiri convenire. Neque quisquam hanc no-
stram sententiam vere unquam reprehendit, prae-
ter eos qui arbitrantur melius esse deleri omnino
republicam, quam imminutam et debilitatam
manere. Ego autem ex interitu ejus nullam spem
scilicet mihi proponebam, ex reliquiis magnam.
Sed ea³ sunt consecuta, ut magis mirum sit ac-
cidere illa potuisse, quam nos non vidisse ea fu-
tura: nec, homines cum essemus, divinare po-
tuisse. Equidem fateor meam conjecturam hanc
fuisse, ut, illo quasi quodam fatali proelio facto,
et victores communi saluti consulere vellent, et
victi

victi suae. Utrumque autem positum esse arbitrabar in celeritate victoris. Quae si fuisset, eandem clementiam experta esset Africa, quam cognovit Asia : quam etiam Achaia, et, ut opinor, ipso legato ac deprecatore. Amissis autem temporibus, quae plurimum valent, praesertim in bellis civilibus, interpositus annus alios induxit, ut victoriam sperarent, alios ut ipsum vinci contemnerent. Atque horum malorum omnium culpam fortuna sustinet. Quis enim aut Alexandrini⁴ belli tantam moram huic bello adjunctum iri, aut nescio quem istum Pharnacem Asiae terrorem illaturum putaret? Nos tamen in consilio pari, casu diffimili usi sumus. Tu enim eam partem petisti, ut et consiliis interesses, et, quod maxime curam levat, futura animo prospicere posses. Ego, qui⁵ festinavi ut Caesarem in Italia viderem, sic enim arbitrabamur, eumque multis honestissimis viris conservatis redeuntem, ad pacem currentem, ut ajunt, incitarem : ab illo longissime et absum et afui. Versor autem in gemitu Italiae, et in urbis⁶ miserrimis querelis : quibus aliquid opis fortasse ego pro mea, tu pro tua, pro sua quisque parte ferre potuisset, si auctor affuisset. Quare velim pro tua perpetua erga me benevolentia, scribas ad me, quid videas, quid sentias, quid expectandum,

dum, quid agendum nobis existimes. Magni erunt mihi tuae literae: atque utinam primis illis, quas ⁷ Luceria miseras, paruissem. Sine ulla enim molestia dignitatem meam retinuisssem. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

LONGIOR ¹ epistola fuisset, nisi eo ipso tempore petita esset a me, cum jam iretur ad te. Longior etiam, si *φλύαρον* ² aliquem habuisset. Nam *σπεύδ' ἔχειν* sine periculo vix possumus. Ridere igitur, inquires, possumus. Non mehercule facillime. Verumtamen aliam aberrationem a molestiis nullam habemus. Ubi igitur, inquires, philosophia? Tua quidem ³ in culina, mea molesta est. Pudet enim fervire. Itaque ⁴ facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. De Hispania nihil adhuc certi, nihil omnino novi. Te abesse mea causa moleste fero, tua gaudeo. Sed flagitat tabellarius. Valebis igitur, meque, ut a puero fecisti, amabis. Vale.

E P I S -

EPISTOLA IV.

M. T. C. C. CASSIO S. P. D.

PRAEPOSTEROS¹ habes tabellarios : etsi me quidem non offendunt ; sed tamen, cum a me discedunt, flagitant literas ; cum ad me veniunt, nullas afferunt. Atque id ipsum facerent commodius, si mihi aliquid spatii ad scribendum darent : sed² petasati veniunt : comites ad portam expectare dicunt. Ergo ignosces : alteras habebis has breves. Sed expecta *πάντα ἐν παντί*. Etsi quid ego me tibi purgo, cum tui ad me inanes veniant, ad te cum epistolis revertantur ? Nos hic, tamen ad te scribam aliquid, D.³ Sullam patrem mortuum habebamus. Alii a latronibus, alii cruditate dicebant. Populus non curabat : combustum enim esse constabat. Hoc tu pro sapientia tua feres aequo animo. Quanquam⁴ *ἐξ ὅσων πόλεως* amisimus. Caesarem putabant moleste laturum, verentem ne hasta refrixisset. Mindius Marcellus, et Attius pigmentarius valde gaudebant, se adversarium perdidisse. De Hispania novi nihil ; sed expectatio valde magna : rumores tristiores, sed *ἀδέσποτοι*. Pansa noster⁵ paludatus a. d. IIII kalend. Jan. profectus est, ut quivis intelligere posset id, quod tu nuper dubitare coepisti, *τὸ χεῖρόν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρεῖον* esse,

esse. Nam quod multos miseriis levavit, et quod se in his malis hominem prae-
buit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia pro-
secuta est. Tu quod adhuc Brundisii moratus
es, valde probo et gaudeo: et mehercule puto te
sapienter facturum, si ἀκερόσπεγδος⁶ fueris. No-
bis quidem, qui te amamus, erit gratum. Et
amabo te, cum dabis posthac aliquid domum
literarum, mei memineris. Ego nunquam quen-
quam ad te, cum sciam, sine meis literis ire
patiar.

EPISTOLA V.

M.T.C. C.CASSIO S.P.D.

PUTO¹ te jam suppuere, cum haec te ter-
tia jam epistola ante oppressit, quam tu
scedulam aut literam. Sed non urgeo. Lon-
giores enim expectabo, vel potius exigam. Ego,
si semper haberem, cui darem, vel ternas in hora
darem. Fit enim nescio quid, ut quasi coram
adesse videare, cum scribo aliquid ad te: neque
id² κατ' εἰδώλων φαντασίας, ut dicunt tui amici
novi: qui putant etiam διανοητικὰς φαντασίας spec-
tris Catianis excitari. Nam, ne te fugiat, Catius
Insuber, Epicureus, qui nuper est mortuus,
quae ille³ Gargettius, etiam ante Democritus,
εἴδωλα, hic spectra nominat. His autem spectris
etiam

etiam si oculi possent feriri, quod vel iis ipsa
 occurrunt, animus qui possit, ego non video.
 Doceas tu me oportebit, cum salvus veneris, in
 meane potestate ut sit spectrum tuum, ut, simul
 ac mihi collibitum sit de te cogitare, illud oc-
 currat: neque solum de te, qui mihi haeres in
 medullis: sed si insulam Britanniam coepero
 cogitare, ejus εἰδωλον mihi advolabit ad pectus.
 Sed haec posterius. Tento enim te, quo animo
 accipias. Si enim stomachabere et moleste feres,
 plura dicemus: postulabimusque, ex qua haeresi
 4 “ Vi, hominibus armatis ” dejectus sis, in eam
 restituare. In hoc interdicto non solet addi, “ In
 hoc anno.” Quare si jam biennium, aut trien-
 nium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti, deli-
 nitus illecebris voluptatis, in integro res nobis
 erit. Quanquam quicum loquor? cum uno for-
 tissimo viro: qui postea quam forum attigisti,
 nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum amplissimae dig-
 nitatis. In ista ipsa αἰρέσει metuo ne plus nervo-
 rum sit, quam ego putarim, si modo eam tu
 probas. Quid tibi in mentem venit? inquires:
 quia nihil habebam aliud, quod scriberem. De
 republica enim nihil scribere possum, neque
 enim, quod sentio, libet scribere.

EPISTOLA VI.

C. CASSIUS M.T.C. S.P.D.

S V.B. Non mehercule in hac mea peregrinatione quidquam libentius facio, quam scribo ad te. Videor enim cum praesente loqui et joculari. Nec tamen hoc usu venit propter spectra Catiana: pro quo tibi proxima epistola tot rusticos Stoicos regeram, ut Catium Athenis natum esse dicas. Pansa nostrum secunda voluntate hominum paludatum ex urbe exisse, cum ipsius causa gaudeo, tum mehercule etiam omnium nostrum. Spero enim homines intellecturos, quanto sit omnibus odio crudelitas, et quanto amor probitas et clementia: atque ea, quae maxime mali petant et concupiscant, ad bonos pervenire. Difficile est enim persuadere hominibus, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse: ἡδονὴν vero et ἀλαξίαν virtute, justitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, et verum et probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus, a quo omnes Catii, et Amafinii, mali verborum interpretes, proficiscuntur, dicit: ἐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως, ἄνευ τῆς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ζῆν. Itaque et Pansa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet: et ii, qui a vobis Φιλήδονοι vocantur, sunt Φιλόκαλοι, καὶ φιλοδίκαιοι, omnesque virtutes et colunt et retinent. Itaque Sulla, cujus iudicium probare

probare debemus, cum dissentire philosophos videret, non quaesit, quid bonum esset; omnia bona coemit: cujus ego mortem forti mehercules animo tuli. Nec tamen Caesar diutius nos eum desiderare patietur. Nam habet damnatos, quos pro illo nobis restituat: nec ipse sectorem desiderabit, cum filium viderit. Nunc, ut ad rempublicam redeam, quid in Hispaniis geratur rescribe. Peream, nisi sollicitus sum, ac malo veterem et clementem dominum habere, quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam fit fatuus: scis, quomodo crudelitatem, virtutem putet: scis, quam se semper a nobis derisum putet. Vereor ne nos rustice gladio velit ^{ἀντι-μυκλινέσθαι}. Quid fiat, si me diligis, rescribe. Hui, quam velim scire, utrum ista sollicito animo, an soluto legas. Sciam enim eodem tempore, quid me facere oporteat. Ne longior sim, vale, et me, ut facis, ama. Si Caesar vicit, celeriter me expecta.

EPISTOLA VII.

BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETT.

M. ANTONIO COS.

DE tua ¹ fide et benevolentia in nos nisi persuasum esset nobis, non scripsissemus haec tibi: quae profecto, quum istum animum habes,

habes, in optimam partem accipies. Scribitur nobis magnam veteranorum multitudinem Romanam convenisse jam, et ad kalendas Junias futuram multo majorem. De te si dubitemus, aut vereamur, simus nostri dissimiles. Sed certe, cum ipsi in tua² potestate fuerimus, tuoque adducti consilio dimiserimus ex municipiis nostros necessarios, neque solum edicto, sed etiam literis id fecerimus, digni sumus, quos habeas tui consilii participes, in ea praesertim re, quae ad nos pertinet. Quare petimus a te, facias nos certiores tuae voluntatis in nos: putetne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara³ cogitare audimus: quod velle te probare vix quisquam posse videtur, qui nos salvos et honestos velit. Nos ab initio spectasse otium, nec quidquam aliud⁴ libertate communi quaesivisse, exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos potest, nisi tu; quod certe adest a tua virtute et fide: sed alius nemo facultatem habet decipiendi nos. Tibi enim uni credidimus, et credituri sumus. Maximo timore de nobis afficiuntur amici nostri: quibus etsi tua fides explorata est, tamen illud in mentem venit, multitudinem veteranorum facilius impelli ab aliis quolibet, quam a te retineri posse. Rescribas nobis ad omnia rogamus. Nam illud

valde leve est ac nugatorium, ea re denuntiaturum
esse veteranis, quod de commodis eorum men-
se Junio laturus esses. Quem enim impedimento
futurum putas, cum de nobis certum sit nos
quieturos? Non debemus cuiquam videri ni-
mium cupidi vitae, cum accidere nobis nihil
possit sine perniciē et confusione omnium re-
rum.

EPISTOLA VIII.

BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETT.
ANTONIO COS. S.D.

S V.B.E.¹ literas tuas legimus, simillimas²
edicti tui, contumeliosas, minaces, mini-
me dignas, quae a te nobis mitterentur. Nos,
Antoni, te nulla laceffimus injuria, neque mira-
turum credidimus, si praetores, et ea dignitate
homines aliquid edicto postulassemus a consule.
Quod si indignaris ausos esse id facere, concede
nobis, ut doleamus, ne hoc quidem abs te Bruto
et Cassio tribui. Nam de delectibus habitis, et
pecuniis imperatis, exercitibus sollicitatis, et
nuntiis trans mare missis, quod te questum esse
negas, nos quidem tibi credimus optimo animo
te fecisse, sed tamen neque agnoscimus quid-
quam eorum, et te miramur, cum haec reticue-
ris, non potuisse continere iracundiam tuam,
quin

quin nobis de morte Caesaris objiceret. Illud vero quemadmodum ferendum sit, tute cogita; non licere praetoribus concordiae ac libertatis causa per edictum de suo jure decedere, quin consul arma minetur. Quorum fiducia nihil est, quod nos terreas. Neque enim decet, aut convenit nobis, periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum. Neque est Antonio postulandum, ut iis imperet, quorum opera liber est. Nos si alia hortarentur, ut bellum civile suscitare vellemus, literae tuae nihil proficerent. Nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos est. Sed pulchre intelligis non posse nos quoquam impelli: et fortassis ea re minaciter agis, ut iudicium nostrum metus videatur. Nos in hac sententia sumus, ut te cupiamus in libera republica magnum atque honestum esse, vocemus te ad nullas inimicitias, sed tamen pluris nostram libertatem, quam tuam amicitiam aestimemus. Tu etiam atque etiam vide, quid suscipias, quid sustinere possis: neque quam diu vixerit Caesar, sed quam non diu regnarit, fac cogites. Deos quaesumus, consilia tua reipublicae salutaria sint, ac tibi. Si minus, ut, salva atque honesta republica, tibi quam minimum noceant optamus. Pridie nonas Sext.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

FINEM¹ nullum facio, mihi crede, Cassi, de te et de Bruto nostro, id est, de tota republica cogitandi, cujus omnis spes in vobis est, et in D.Bruto. Quam quidem jam habeo ipse meliorem, republica a Dolabella meo praeclarissime gesta. Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, et ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem et urbi, et otio diffiderem urbano. Sed ita compressa² est, ut mihi videamur omne jam ad tempus ab illo duntaxat sordidissimo periculo tuti futuri. Reliqua magna sunt, ac multa: sed posita omnia in vobis. Quanquam³ primum quidque explicemus. Nam, ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videmur. Interfecto enim rege, regiones omnes nutus tuemur. Neque vero id solum, sed etiam, quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos, quasi cogitata ab illo, probamus. Nec ejus quidem rei finem video. Tabulae figuntur, immunitates dantur, pecuniae maximae⁴ describuntur, exules reducuntur, senatusconsulta falsa referuntur, ut tantummodo odium illud hominis impuri, et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur; respublica jaceat in his perturbationibus,
in

in quas eam ille conjecit. Haec omnia vobis sunt expedienda. Nec hoc cogitandum, satis jam habere rempublicam a vobis. Habet illa quidem tantum, quantum nunquam mihi in mentem venit optare; sed contenta non est, et, pro magnitudine et animi et beneficii vestri, a vobis magna desiderat. Adhuc ulta suas injurias est per vos interitu tyranni: nihil amplius. Ornamenta^s vero sua quae recuperavit? an quod ei mortuo paret, quem vivum ferre non poterat? cujus aera refrigerare debebamus, ejus etiam chirographa defendimus? at enim ita decrevimus. Fecimus id quidem, temporibus cedentes, quae valent in republica plurimum: sed immoderate quidam et ingrate nostra facilitate abutuntur. Verum haec propediem et multa alia coram. Interim velim, sic tibi persuadeas, mihi cum reipublicae, quam semper habui carissimam, tum amoris nostri causa, maxime curae esse tuam dignitatem. Da operam ut valeas.

EPISTOLA X.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

VEHEMENTER^r laetor, tibi probari sententiam et orationem meam; qua si facius uti liceret, nihil esset negotii, libertatem et

republicam recuperare. Sed homo amens et perditus, multoque nequior, quam ille ipse, quem tu nequissimum occisum esse dixisti, caedis initium quaerit: nullamque aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Quod ego periculum non extimesco, modo vestri facti gloriam cum mea laude communicet. Ita nec² Pisoni, qui in eum primus inuectus est, nullo assentiente, nec mihi, qui idem tricesimo post die feci, nec P. Servilio, qui me est consecutus, tuto in senatum venire licet. Caedem enim gladiator quaerit, ejusque initium a. d. xiiii. kal. Octobr. a me se facturum putavit: ad quam paratus venerat, cum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset. Quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere. Quare quod scribis, te confidere auctoritate et eloquentia nostra aliquid profici posse, nonnihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum. Intelligit enim populus Romanus tres esse consulares, qui, quia de republica bene senserint, libere locuti sunt, tuto in senatum venire non possint. Nec est praeterea, quod quidquam expectes. Tuus enim⁴ necessarius affinitate nova delectatur. Itaque jam non est studiosus

sus ludorum, infinitoque fratris tui plausu di-
 rumpitur. Alter item ⁵affinis novis commenta-
 riis Caesaris delinitus est. Sed haec tolerabilia:
 illud non ferendum, quod est, qui vestro anno
 filium suum consulem futurum putet, ob eam-
 que causam se huic latroni deservire prae se
 ferat. Nam L. Cotta familiaris meus, fatali qua-
 dam desperatione, ut ait, minus in senatum ve-
 nit. L. Caesar, optimus et fortissimus civis, va-
 letudine impeditur. Ser. Sulpicius et summa
 auctoritate, et optime sentiens, non adest. Re-
 liquos, exceptis designatis, ignosce mihi, si non
 numero consulares. Habes auctores consilii
 publici. Qui numerus etiam bonis rebus exi-
 guus esset, quid censes perditis? Quare spes est
 omnis in vobis: qui si idcirco abestis, ut sitis
 in tuto, ne in vobis quidem. Sin aliquid dignum
 vestra gloria cogitatis, velim salvis nobis. Sin
 id minus, res tamen publica per vos brevi tem-
 pore jus suum recuperabit. Ego tuis neque de-
 sum, neque deero. Qui si ne ad me referent,
 mea tibi tamen benevolentia fidesque praesta-
 bitur.

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

AUGET¹ tuus amicus furorem in dies, primum in statua, quam posuit in Rostris, inscripsit "PARENTI OPTIME MERITO;" ut non modo ficarii, sed jam etiam parricidae judicemini. Quid dico, judicemini? judicemur potius. Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam² quidem fuisssem, molestus nobis non esset. Sed hoc vestrum fuit: quod quum praeteriit, utinam haberem quid vobis darem consilii. Sed ne mihi quidem ipse reperio, quid faciendum sit. Quid enim est, quod contra vim sine vi fieri possit? Consilium omne autem hoc est illorum, ut mortem Caesaris persequantur. Itaque a. d. sext. non.³ Octob. productus in concionem a Canutio, turpissime ille quidem discessit: sed tamen ea dixit de conservatoribus patriae, quae dici deberent de proditoribus. De me quidem non dubitanter, quin omnia de meo consilio et vos fecissetis, et Canutius faceret. Caetera cujusmodi sint, ex hoc judica, quod legato tuo viaticum⁴ eripuerunt. Quid eos interpretari putas, cum hoc faciunt: ad hostem scilicet portari. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus, conservo

servo servimus. Et tamen, me quidem favente magis, quam sperante, etiam nunc residet spes in virtute tua. Sed ubi sunt copiae? De reliquo, malo te ipsum loqui tecum, quam nostra dicta cognoscere. Vale.

EPISTOLA XII.

M. T. C. C. CASSIO S. P. D.

VELLEM¹ idibus Martiis me ad coenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter caeteros me. Quanquam egregios consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares: senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem² foedius Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius: qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res nuntiarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruiisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Sed tu quid ageres, quid acturus, ubi denique esses nesciebam. Fama nuntiabat te isse in Syriam: auctor erat nemo. De³ Bruto, quo propius est, eo firmiora videntur esse, quae nuntiantur. Dolabella⁴ valde vituperabatur ab hominibus non insulsis,

infulsis, quod tibi tam cito succederet, cum tu vix dum triginta dies in Syria fuisses. Itaque constabat, eum recipi in Syriam non oportere. Summa laus et tua, et Bruti est, quod exercitum praeter spem existimamini comparasse. Scriberem plura, si rem causamque nossem. Nunc quae scribo, scribo ex opinione hominum atque fama. Tuas literas avide expecto. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

HIEMEM¹ credo adhuc prohibuisse, quominus de te certum haberemus, quid ageres, maximeque ubi esses. Loquebantur omnes tamen, credo, quod volebant, in Syria te esse, habere copias. Id autem eo facilius credebatur, quia simile vero videbatur. Brutus² quidem noster egregiam laudem est consecutus. Res enim tantas gessit, tamque inopinatas, ut eae cum per se gratae essent, tum ornatiores propter³ celeritatem. Quod si tu ea tenes, quae putamus, magnis subsidiis fulta respublica est. A prima enim ora Graeciae usque ad AEgyptum optimorum civium imperiis muniti erimus et copiis. Quanquam, nisi me fallebat, res se sic habebat, ut totius belli omne discrimen in D. Bruto⁴ positum videretur: qui si, ut sperabamus,

mus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliqui fore videbatur. Parvis omnino jam copiis obsidebatur, quod magno praesidio Bononiam tenebat Antonius. Erat autem ⁵ Claternae noster Hirtius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar, uterque cum firmo exercitu, magnasque Romae Pansa copias ex delectu Italiae comparat. Hiems adhuc rem geri prohibuerat. Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris literis significat, acturus videbatur. Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidi, Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus studiosissimam reipublicae. Tuos etiam clientes ⁶ Transpadanos mirifice conjunctos cum causa habebamus. Erat firmissimus senatus, exceptis consularibus: ex quibus unus L. Caesar firmus est, et rectus. Ser. Sulpicii morte magnum praesidium amisimus. Reliqui partim inertes, partim improbi: nonnulli invident eorum laudi, quos in republica probari vident. Populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensio est. Haec erant fere, quae tibi nota esse vellem. Nunc autem opto, ut ab istis Orientis partibus virtutis tuae lumen eluceat. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

QUI status¹ rerum fuerit tum, cum has literas dedi, scire poteris ex C. Tidio Strabone, viro bono et optime de republica sentiente. Nam quid dicam cupidissimo tui, qui, domo et fortunis relictis, ad te potissimum profectus sit? Itaque eum tibi ne commendo quidem. Adventus ipsius ad te satis eum commendabit. Tu velim, sic existimes, tibi que persuadeas, omne perfugium bonorum² in te et Bruto esse positum, si, quod nolim, adversi quid evenerit. Res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta discrimen. Brutus enim Mutinae vix jam sustinebat. Qui si conservatus erit, vicimus: sin; quod dii omen avertant, omnis omnium cursus ad vos. Proinde fac animum tantum habeas, tantumque apparatus, quanto opus est ad universam rempublicam recuperandam. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

C. CASSIUS PROCOS. M.T.C. S.P.D.

SV.B.E.E.Q.V. In Syriam¹ me profectum esse scito ad L. Murcum, et Q. Crispum, imperatores. Viri fortes, optimique cives, postea quam audierunt, quae Romae gererentur, exercitus

citū mihi tradiderunt : ipsique mecum una fortissimo animo rempublicam administrant. Item legionem, quam Q.² Caecilius Bassus habuit, ad me venisse scito : Quatuorque legiones, quas A. Allienus ex AEgypto eduxit, traditas ab eo mihi esse scito. Nunc te cohortatione non puto indigere, ut nos absentes, remque publicam, quantum est in te, defendas. Scire te volo, firma praesidia vobis senatuique non deesse, ut optima spe et maximo animo rempublicam defendas. Reliqua tecum aget L. Carteius, familiaris meus. Vale. Data nonis Martiis, ex castris³ Taricheis.

EPISTOLA XVI.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

QUANTO¹ studio dignitatem tuam, et in senatu et ad populum defenderim, ex tuis te malo, quam ex me cognoscere. Quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset, nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset. Ea sententia dicta, productus sum in concionem a tribuno plebis M. Servilio. Dixi² de te, quae potui, tanta contentione, quantum forum est : tanto clamore, consensuque populi, ut nihil unquam simile viderim. Id velim mihi ignoscas, quod invita focru³ tua fecerim. Mulier timida verebatur, ne Pansae

fae animus offenderetur. In concione quidem Panfa dixit, matrem quoque tuam, et fratrem, illam a me sententiam noluisse dici. Sed me haec non movebant, alia malebam. Favebam et reipublicae, cui semper favi, et dignitati ac gloriae tuae. Quod autem et in senatu pluribus verbis differui, et dixi in concione, in eo velim fidem meam liberes. Promisi enim, & prope confirmavi, te non expectasse, nec expectaturum decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rempublicam defensurum. Et quanquam nihil dum audieramus, nec ubi esses, nec quas copias haberes: tamen sic, statuebam, omnes, quae in istis partibus essent opes copiaeque, tuas esse: per teque Asiam provinciam confidebam jam reipublicae recuperatam. Tu fac in augenda gloria te ipsum vincas. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVII.

CASSIUS PROCOS. M. CICERONI
SUO. S.D.

S V.B.E.E.Q.V. Legi¹ tuas literas, in quibus mirificum tuum erga me amorem recognovi. Videbaris enim non solum favere nobis, id quod et nostri, et reipublicae causa semper fecisti: sed etiam gravem curam suscepisse, vehementerque esse de nobis sollicitus. Itaque,
quod

quod te primum existimare putabam, nos, oppressa republica, quiescere non posse: deinde, cum suspicari nos moliri, quod te sollicitum esse et de salute nostra, et de rerum eventu putabam, simul ac legiones accepi, quas A. Allienus eduxerat ex Aegypto, scripsi² ad te, tabellariosque complures Romam misi. Scripsi etiam ad senatum literas, quas reddi vetui prius, quam tibi recitatae essent: si forte mei obtemperare mihi voluerint. Quod si literae perlatae non sunt, non dubito quin Dolabella, qui, nefarie Trebonio occiso, Asiam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprenderit, literasque interceperit. Exercitus omnes, qui in Syria fuere, teneo. Habeo³ paululum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo. Nunc jam sum expeditus. A te peto, ut dignitatem meam commendatam tibi habeas, si me intelligis nullum neque periculum, neque laborem patriae denegasse: si contra importunissimos latrones arma cepi, te hortante et auctore: si non solum exercitus ad rempublicam libertatemque defendendam comparavi, sed etiam crudelissimis tyrannis eripui. Quos si occupasset Dolabella, non solum adventu, sed etiam opinione, et expectatione exercitus sui Antonium confirmasset. Quas ob res milites tuere, si eos mirifice de republica meritos esse animad-

animadvertis; et effice, ne quem poeniteat rempublicam, quam spem praedae et rapinarum seque maluisse. Item Murci et Crispi imperatorum dignitatem, quantum est in te, tuere. Nam Bassus misere noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites, invito eo, legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Haec a te peto, non solum rei publicae, quae tibi semper fuit carissima, sed etiam amicitiae nostrae nomine, quam confido apud te plurimum posse. Crede mihi, hunc exercitum, quem habeo, senatus atque optimi cuiusque esse, maximeque tuum. De cuius voluntate assidue audiendo, mirifice te diligit, carumque habet. Qui si intellexerit commoda sua curae tibi esse, debere etiam se tibi omnia putabit. Literis scriptis, audii Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum suis copiis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. Quid egerim celeriter, ut scias, dabo operam. Ac velim, ut meremur de republica, sic felices simus. Fac valeas, meque ames. Nonis Maii, ex castris.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

SCELUS¹ affinis tui, Lepidi, summamque levitatem et inconstantiam ex actis, quae ad te mitti certo scio, cognosse te arbitror. Itaque nos, confecto bello, ut arbitrabamur, renovatum bellum gerimus, spemque omnem in D. Bruto et Planco habemus: si verum quaeris, in te, et in meo Bruto, non solum ad praesens perfugium, si, quod nolim, adversi quid acciderit, sed etiam ad confirmationem perpetuae libertatis. Nos hic de Dolabella² audiebamus, quae vellemus: sed certos auctores non habebamus. Te quidem magnum hominem, et praesenti iudicio, et reliqui temporis expectatione scito esse. Hoc tibi proposito, fac ut ad summa contendas. Nihil est tantum, quod non populus Romanus a te perfici atque obtineri posse iudicet. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

M.T.C. C. CASSIO S.P.D.

BREVITAS¹ tuarum literarum me quoque brevior in scribendo facit: et, vere ut dicam, non satis occurrit quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio; tuas autem ignoramus. Tanquam enim clausa sit

Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos, praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, satis illos quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. Nos, confectum bellum cum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem adducti sumus. Itaque persuade tibi, maximam reipublicae spem in te, et in copiis esse tuis. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus: sed tamen, ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum interest te venire. Exigua enim spes est reipublicae, nam nullam² non libet dicere: sed quaecunque est, ea despondetur anno consulatus tui. Vale.

EPISTOLA XX.

M. T. C. C. CASSIO S. P. D.

LEPIDUS¹, tuus affinis, meus familiaris, pridie kal. Quintiles sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu iudicatus est, caeterique, qui una cum illo a republica defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante kal. Septemb. potestas facta est. Fortis sane senatus, sed² maxime spe subsidii tui. Bellum quidem, cum haec scribebam, sane magnum erat, scelere et levitate Lepidi. Nos de Dolabella quotidie, quae volumus, audimus; sed adhuc sine³ capite, sine auctore, rumore nuntio. Quod cum ita esset, tamen literis tuis, quas nonis Maii ex castris da-
tas

tas acceperamus, ita persuasum erat civitati, ut illum jam oppressum omnes arbitrarentur, te autem in Italiam venire cum exercitu: ut, si haec ex sententia confecta essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua; sin quid forte titubatum, ut sit in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur. Quem quidem ego exercitum quibuscunque potuero rebus ornabo: cujus rei tum tempus erit, cum, quid opis reipublicae laturus is exercitus sit, aut quid jam tulerit, notum esse coeperit. Nam adhuc tantum conatus audiuntur, optimi illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res expectatur: quam quidem aut jam esse aliquam, aut appropinquare confido. Tua virtute et magnitudine animi nihil est nobilius. Itaque optamus, ut quam primum te in Italia videamus. Rempublicam nos habere arbitrabimur, si vos habebimus. Praeclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem, fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium. Itaque nunquam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit, quanto est Lepidus. Ille enim ex turbulenta republica; hic ex pace et victoria bellum excitavit. Huic oppositos consules⁴ designatos habemus: in quibus est magna illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura propter incertos exitus proeliorum. Persuade tibi igitur, in te et in Bruto tuo esse omnia: vos⁵ expectari, Brutum quidem jam jamque. Quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis; ta-

Afia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos, praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, fatis illos quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. Nos, confectum bellum cum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem adducti sumus. Itaque persuade tibi, maximam reipublicae spem in te, et in copiis esse tuis. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus: sed tamen, ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum interest te venire. Exigua enim spes est reipublicae, nam nullam² non libet dicere: sed quaecunque est, ea despondetur anno consulatus tui. Vale.

EPISTOLA XX.

M. T. C. C. CASSIO S. P. D.

LEPIDUS¹, tuus affinis, meus familiaris, pridie kal. Quintiles sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu judicatus est, caeterique, qui una cum illo a republica defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante kal. Septemb. potestas facta est. Fortis sane senatus, sed² maxime spe subsidii tui. Bellum quidem, cum haec scribebam, sane magnum erat, scelere et levitate Lepidi. Nos de Dolabella quotidie, quae volumus, audimus; sed adhuc sine³ capite, sine auctore, rumore nuntio. Quod cum ita esset, tamen literis tuis, quas nonis Maii ex castris datus

tas acceperamus, ita persuasum erat civitati, ut illum jam oppressum omnes arbitrarentur, te autem in Italiam venire cum exercitu: ut, si haec ex sententia confecta essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua; sin quid forte titubatum, ut sit in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur. Quem quidem ego exercitum quibuscunque potuero rebus ornabo: cujus rei tum tempus erit, cum, quid opis reipublicae laturus is exercitus sit, aut quid jam tulerit, notum esse coeperit. Nam adhuc tantum conatus audiuntur, optimi illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res expectatur: quam quidem aut jam esse aliquam, aut appropinquare confido. Tua virtute et magnitudine animi nihil est nobilius. Itaque optamus, ut quam primum te in Italia videamus. Rempublicam nos habere arbitrabimur, si vos habebimus. Praeclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem, fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium. Itaque nunquam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit, quanto est Lepidus. Ille enim ex turbulenta republica; hic ex pace et victoria bellum excitavit. Huic oppositos consules⁴ designatos habemus: in quibus est magna illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura propter incertos exitus proeliorum. Persuade tibi igitur, in te et in Bruto tuo esse omnia: vos⁵ expectari, Brutum quidem jam jamque. Quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis; ta-

men auctoritate vestra respublica exsurget, et in aliquo statu tolerabili consistet. Sunt enim permulta, quibus erit medendum, etiam si respublica satis esse videbitur sceleribus hostium liberata. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXI.

CASSIUS Q. M. CICERONI S. D.

S V. B. E. E. Q. V. Cum reipublicae¹ vel salute vel victoria gaudemus; tum instauratione tuarum laudum, quod maximus consularis maximum consulem te ipse vicisti, et laetamur, et mirari satis non possumus. Fatale nescio quid tuae virtuti datum, idque saepe jam experti sumus. Est enim tua toga omnium armis felicioꝛ; quae nunc quoque nobis pene victam rempublicam ex manibus hostium eripuit ac reddidit. Nunc ergo vivemus liberi: nunc te, omnium maxime civis et mihi carissime, id quod^{*} maxime reipublicae tenebris comperisti, nunc te habebimus testem nostri et in te, et in conjunctissimam tibi rempublicam amoris: et, quae saepe pollicitus es, te et tacitum, dum serviremus, et dictum de me tum, cum mihi profutura essent, nunc illa non ego quidem dici tantopere desiderabo, quam sentiri a te ipso. Neque enim omnium iudicio malim me a te commendari,

dari, quam ipse tuo iudicio digne, ac mereor, commendatus esse: ut haec novissima nostra facta, non subita, nec³ inconvenientia, sed similia illis cogitationibus, quarum tu testis es, fuisse iudices, meque ad optimam spem patriae non minimum tibi ipsi⁴ producendum putes. Sunt tibi, M. Tulli, liberi, propinqui, digni quidem te, et merito tibi carissimi. Esse etiam debent in republica proxime hos cari, qui studiorum tuorum sunt⁵ aemuli, quorum esse cupio tibi copiam. Sed tamen non maxima me turba puto excludi, quo minus tibi vacet me excipere, et ad omnia, quae velis et probes, producere. Animum tibi nostrum fortasse probavimus, ingenium diutina servitus certe, quaecumque est, minus tamen, quam erat, passa est videri. Nos ex ora maritima Asiae provinciae, et ex insulis, quas potuimus naves deduximus. Delectum remigum magna contumacia civitatum, tamen satis celeriter habuimus. Secuti sumus classem Dolabellae, cui⁶ Lucilius praeerat: qui spem saepe transitionis praebendo, neque unquam non decedendo, novissime Corycum se contulit, et clauso portu se tenere coepit. Nos illa relicta, quod et in castra pervenire satius esse putabamus, et sequebatur classis altera, quam anno priore in Bithynia Tullius Cimber compararat, cui Tu-

rulius quaestor praeerat, Cyprum petivimus. Ibi quae cognovimus scribere ad vos quam celerissime volumus. Dolabellam ut Tarsenses, pessimi focii, ita Laodiceni, multo amentiores, ultro accesserunt: ex quibus utrisque civitatibus, Graecorum militum numero speciem exercitus effecit. Castra habet ante oppidum Laodiceam posita: et partem muri demolitus est, et castra oppido conjunxit. Cassius noster cum decem legionibus, et cohortibus viginti auxiliariis, et quatuor millium equitatu a millibus passuum viginti, castra⁷ habet posita *παλιω*, et existimat se sine proelio posse vincere. Nam jam ternis⁸ tetradrachmis triticum apud Dolabellam est. Nisi quid navibus Laodicenorum supportarit, cito fame pereat, necesse est. Ne supportare possit, et Cassii classis bene magna, cui praest Sextilius Rufus, et tres, quas nos adduximus, ego, Turrulius, Patiscus, facile praestabunt. Volo bene sperare, et rempublicam ut et vos istic expedistis, ita pro nostra parte celeriter⁹ nobis expediri posse confidere. Vale. Data idibus Jun. Cypro, a Crommyu acride.

EPISTOLA XXII.

LENTULUS CICERONI SUO S.P.D.

CUM Brutum¹ nostrum convenissem, eum-
 que tardius in Asiam venturum animad-
 verterem, in Asiam redii, ut reliquias mei labo-
 ris colligerem, et pecuniam quam primum Ro-
 mam mitterem. Interim cognovi in Lycia esse
 classem Dolabellae, ampliusque centum naves
 onerarias, in quas exercitus ejus imponi posse:
 idque Dolabellam ea mente comparasse, ut, si
 Syriae spes eum frustrata esset, conscenderet in
 naves, et Italiam peteret, seque cum Antoniis,
 et reliquis latronibus conjungeret. Cujus rei tan-
 to in timore fui, ut, omnibus rebus relictis, cum
 paucioribus et minoribus navibus ad illas ire co-
 natus sim. Quae res, si a Rhodiis non essem in-
 terpellatus, fortasse tota sublata esset; tamen ma-
 gna ex parte profligata est; cum quidem clas-
 sis dissipata est; adventus nostri timore milites
 ducesque effugerunt, onerariae omnes ad unum
 a nobis sunt exceptae. Certe, quod maxime ti-
 mui, videor etiam consecutus, ut non possit Do-
 labella in Italiam pervenire, nec fociis suis fir-
 matis durius vobis efficere negotium. Rhodii
 nos et rempublicam quam valde desperaverint,
 ex literis, quas publice misi, cognosces. Et qui-

dem multo parcius² scripsi. Mirari noli. Mira est eorum amentia: nec me meae ullae privatim injuriae unquam. Malus animus eorum in nostram salutem, cupiditas partium aliarum, perseverantia in contemtionem optimi cujusque, ferenda mihi non fuit: nec tamen omnes perditos esse puto. Sed iidem illi, qui tum fugientem³ patrem meum, qui L. Lentulum, qui Pompeium, qui caeteros viros clarissimos non receperunt, iidem, tanquam aliquo fato, et nunc aut magistratum gerunt, aut eos, qui sunt in magistratu, in sua habent potestate. Itaque eadem⁴ superbia in pravitate utuntur. Quorum improbitatem aliquando retundi, et non pati impunitate augeri, non solum utile est reipublicae nostrae, sed etiam necessarium. De nostra dignitate velim tibi ut semper curae sit: et, quocumque tempore occasionem habueris, et in senatu et in caeteris rebus laudi nostrae suffragere. Cum⁵ consulis decreta est Asia, et permissum est iis, ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent negotium qui Asiam obtineant: rogo te, petas ab iis, ut hanc dignitatem potissimum nobis tribuant, et mihi dent negotium, ut Asiam obtineam, dum ipsorum alteruter venit. Nam, quod huc properent in magistratu venire, aut exercitum mittere, causam non habent. Dolabella enim in Syria est, et, ut
tu

tu divina tua mente prospexisti, et praedicasti, dum isti veniunt, Cassius eum opprimet. Exclusus enim ab Antiochia Dolabella, et in oppugnando male acceptus, nulla alia confusus urbe, Laodiceam, quae est in Syria ad mare, se contulit. Ibi spero celeriter eum poenas daturum. Nam neque quo refugiat habet, neque diutius ibi poterit tantum exercitum Cassii sustinere. Spero etiam confectum esse jam, et oppressum Dolabellam. Quare non puto Panfam et Hirtium in consulatu properaturos in provincias exire, sed Romae acturos consulatum. Itaque si ab his petieris, ut interea nobis procurationem Asiae dent, spero te posse impetrare. Praeterea mihi promiserunt Panfa et Hirtius coram, et absenti mihi scripserunt: Verrioque nostro Panfa affirmavit, se daturum operam, ne in suo consulatu mihi succedatur. Ego porro non, medius fidius, cupiditate provinciae produci longius spatium mihi volo. Nam mihi fuit ista provincia plena laboris, periculi, detrimenti. Quae ego ne frustra subierim, neve prius quam reliquias meae diligentiae consequar decedere cogar, valde laboro. Nam si potuissem, quam exegeram pecuniam, universam mittere, postularem ut mihi succederetur. Nunc, quod Cassio dedi, quod Trebonii morte amisimus, quod etiam crudeli-

tate

tate Dolabellae, aut perfidia eorum, qui mihi fidem reique publicae non praestiterunt, id consequi et reficere volo. Quod aliter non potest fieri, nisi spatium habuero. Id ut per te consequar, velim, ut solet, tibi curae sit. Ego me de republica puto esse meritum, ut non provinciae istius beneficium expectare debeam, sed tantum, quantum Cassius et Bruti, non solum illius facti periculique societate, sed etiam hujus temporis studio et virtute. Primus enim ego leges Antonias fregi: primus equitatum Dolabellae ad rempublicam traduxi, Cassioque tradidi: primus delectus habui pro salute omnium contra conjunctionem sceleratissimam: solus Cassio et reipublicae Syriam exercitusque, qui ibi erant, conjunxi. Nam nisi ego tantam pecuniam, tantaque praesidia, et tam celeriter Cassio dedissem, ne ausus quidem esset ire in Syriam: et nunc non minora pericula reipublicae a Dolabella instarent quam ab Antonio. Atque haec omnia is feci, qui sodalis et familiarissimus Dolabellae eram, conjunctissimus sanguine Antoniis, provinciam quoque illorum beneficio habebam: sed ^ἡ *παλαιοὶ* *ἐμὴν* *μᾶλλον* *φιλῶν*, omnibus meis bellum primus indixi. Haec etsi adhuc non magnopere mihi tulisse fructum animadverto, tamen non despero: nec defatigabor permanere non solum in studio liberta-

libertatis, sed etiam in labore et periculis. Attamen, si etiam aliqua gloria iusta et merita provocabimur, senatus et optimi cujusque officiis, majore cum auctoritate apud caeteros erimus, et eo plus prodesse reipublicae poterimus. Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed, medius fidius, ea esse eum opinione, et tua et ipsius et in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus, teque dignus est. Vale. D. IIII kalend. Jun. Pergae.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

P. LENTULUS P. F. PROQUAEST. PROPR.
COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SEN. P. Q. R.
S. P. D.

S V. L. V. V. B. E. E. V. Scelere Dolabellae oppressa Asia, in proximam provinciam Macedoniam, praesidiaque reipublicae quae M. Brutus, V. C. tenebat, me contuli: et id egi, ut, per quos celerrime posset, Asia provincia, vectigaliaque in vestram potestatem redigerentur. Quod cum pertinuisset Dolabella, vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis¹ omnibus crudelissime denudatis ac divenditis, celeriusque Asia excessisset, quam eo
prae-

praesidium adduci potuisset, diutius morari, aut expectare praesidium non necesse habui: et quam primum ad meum officium revertendum mihi esse existimavi, ut et reliqua vectigalia exigere, et, quam deposui pecuniam, colligerem: quidquid ex ea correptum esset, aut quorum id culpa accidisset, cognoscerem quam primum, et vos de omni re facerem certiores. Interim cum per insulas in Asiam naviganti mihi nuntiatum esset, classem Dolabellae in Lycia esse, Rhodiosque naves complures instructas et paratas in aqua habere: cum his navibus, quas aut mecum adduxeram, aut comparaverat Patiscus proquaestor, homo mihi cum familiaritate, tum etiam sensibus in republica conjunctissimus, Rhodum reverti, confisus auctoritate vestra, senatusque consulto, quo hostem² Dolabellam judicaretis: foedere quoque, quod cum his, M. Marcello, Ser. Sulpicio Coff. renovatum erat: quo juraverant Rhodii, eosdem hostes se habituros, quos S. P. Q. R. Quae res nos vehementer fefellit. Tantum enim abfuit, ut illorum praesidio nostram firmaremus classem, ut etiam a Rhodiis urbe, portu, statione, quae extra urbem est, commeatu, aqua denique prohiberentur nostri milites; nos vix ipsi singulis cum navigiis recipere. Quam indignitatem, diminutionemque

nemque majestatis, non solum juris nostri, sed etiam imperii populiue Romani idcirco tulimus, quod interceptis literis cognoramus, Dolabellam, si desperasset de Syria Aegyptoque, quod necesse erat fieri, in naves cum omnibus suis latronibus atque omni pecunia conscendere esse paratum, Italiamque petere: idcirco etiam naves onerarias, quarum minor nulla erat duum millium³ amphorum, contractas in Lycia a classe ejus obsideri. Hujus rei timore, Patres conscripti, percitus, injurias perpeti, et cum contumelia etiam nostra omnia prius experiri malui. Itaque ad illorum voluntatem introductus in urbem et in senatum eorum, quam diligentissime potui, causam reipublicae egi: periculumque omne, quod instaret, si ille latro cum omnibus suis naves conscendisset, exposui. Rhodios autem tanta in pravitate animadverti, ut omnes firmiores putarent, quam bonos: ut hanc concordiam, et conspirationem omnium ordinum ad defendendam libertatem, propense non crederent esse factam: ut patientiam senatus et optimi cujusque manere etiam nunc confiderent, nec potuisse audere quenquam Dolabellam hostem judicare: ut denique omnia, quae improbi fingeant, magis vera existimarent, quam quae vere facta erant, et a nobis docebantur. Qua mente etiam
ante

ante nostrum adventum post Trebonii indignissimam caedem, caeteraque tot tamque nefaria facinora, binae profectae erant ad Dolabellam legationes eorum, et quidem novo exemplo, contra leges ipsorum, prohibentibus iis, qui tum magistratus gerebant. Haec⁴ sive timore, ut dicunt, de agris, quos in continenti habent, sive furore, sive potentia paucorum, qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos affecerant, et nunc maximos magistratus gerentes, nullo exemplo, neque nostra ex parte, neque nostro praesentium, neque imminenti Italiae urbique nostrae periculo, si ille parricida cum suis latronibus, navibus ex Asia Syriaque expulsus, Italiam petiisset, mederi cum facile possent, voluerunt. Nonnullis etiam ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem, detinuisse nos, et demorati esse, dum classis Dolabellae certior fieret de adventu nostro. Quam suspicionem consecutae res aliquot auxerunt: maxime quod subito ex Lycia Sex. Marius, et C. Titius, legati Dolabellae, a classe discesserunt, navique longa profugerunt, onerariis relictis, in quibus colligendis non minimum temporis laborisque consumserunt. Itaque cum ab Rhodo cum iis, quas habueramus, navibus in Lyciam venissemus, naves onerarias recepimus, dominisque restituimus: idemque, quod

quod maxime verebatur, ne posset Dolabella cum suis latronibus in Italiam venire, timere desimus. Classem fugientem persecuti sumus usque Sidam, quae extrema regio est provinciae meae. Ibi cognovi, partem navium Dolabellae diffugisse; reliquas Syriam Cyprumque petiisse. Quibus disiectis, cum scirem C. Cassii, singularis civis et ducis classem maximam fore praesto in Syria, ad meum officium reverti: daboque operam, ut meum studium, diligentiam vobis, P. C. reique publicae praestem: pecuniamque, quam maximam potero, et quam celerrime cogam, omnibusque cum rationibus ad vos mittam. Si percurrero provinciam, et cognovero, qui nobis et reipublicae fidem praestiterunt in conservanda pecunia a me deposita, quique scelere ultro deferentes pecuniam publicam, hoc munere societatem facinorum cum Dolabella inierunt, faciam vos certiores. De quibus, si vobis videbitur, si, ut meriti sunt, graviter constitueritis, nosque vestra auctoritate firmaveritis, facilius et reliqua exigere vectigalia, et exacta servare poterimus. Interea, quo commodius vectigalia tueri, provinciamque ab injuria defendere possim, praesidium necessarium voluntariumque comparavi. His literis scriptis, milites circiter xxx, quos Dolabella ex Asia conscripse-

scripserat, e Syria fugientes in Pamphyliam venerunt. Hi nuntiaverunt, Dolabellam Antiochiam, quae in Syria est, venisse; non receptum: conatum esse aliquoties vi introire, repulsum semper esse cum magno suo detrimento. Itaque centum circiter amissis, aegris relictis, noctu Antiochia profugisse Laodiceam versus: ea nocte omnes fere Asiaticos milites ab eo discessisse: ex his ad octingentos Antiochiam rediisse, et se iis tradidisse, qui a Cassio relictis, urbi illi praeerant: caeteros per Amanum in Ciliciam descendisse: quo ex numero, se quoque esse dicebant: Cassium autem cum suis omnibus copiis nuntiatum esse quatruidui iter Laodicea abfuisse, tum cum Dolabella eo tenderet. Quamobrem opinione celerius confido sceleratissimum latronem poenas daturum. Quarto nonas Junias, Pergae.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

CICERO CORNIFICIO.

GRATAE¹ mihi tuae literae, nisi quod Si-
nuessanum diversoriolum contempsisti.
Quam quidem contumeliam villa pusilla ini-
quo animo feret, nisi in Cumano et Pompeiano
reddideris *πάλαι πρὸς πάντων*. Sic igitur facies,
meque amabis, et scripto aliquo laceesses. Ego
enim respondere facilius possum, quam provo-
care.

care. "Quod si, ut es, cessabis," laceffam, ne tua ignavia etiam inertiam afferat. Plura otiosus. Haec cum effem in fenatu exaravi.

EPISTOLA XXV.

CICERO CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE
S. D.

GRATA mihi¹ vehementer est memoria nostri tua, quam significasti literis: quam ut conſerves, non quo de tua constantia dubitem, ſed quia mos eſt ita rogandi, rogo. Ex Syria² nobis tumultuoſiora quaedam nuntiata ſunt: quae, quia tibi ſunt propiora, quam nobis, tua me cauſa magis movent, quam mea. Romae ſummum³ otium eſt: ſed ita, ut malis ſalubre aliquod et honeſtum negotium: quod ſpero fore. Video id curae eſſe Caefari. Me ſcito, dum tu abſis, quaſi occaſionem quandam et licentiam naſtum, ſcribere audacius: et caetera quidem fortaffe, quae etiam tu concederes: ſed proxime ſcripſi de optimo⁴ genere dicendi: in quo ſaepe ſuſpicatus ſum, te a iudicio noſtro, ſic ſcilicet, ut doctum hominem a non indocto, paululum diſſidere. Huic tu libro, maxime velim ex animo, ſi minus, gratiae cauſa ſuffragere. Dicam tuis, ut eum, ſi velint, deſcribant, ad teque mittant. Puto enim, etiam ſi rem minus

probabis, tamen in ista solitudine, quidquid a me profectum sit, jucundum tibi fore. Quod mihi existimationem tuam dignitatemque commendas, facis tu quidem omnium more: sed velim sic existimes, me, cum amori, quem inter nos mutuum esse intelligam, plurimum tribuam, tum de summo ingenio, et de studiis tuis optimis, et de spe amplissimae dignitatis ita judicare, ut neminem tibi anteponam, comparem paucos.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

CICERO CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE

S.D.

QUOD' extremum fuit in ea epistola, quam a te proxime accepi, ad id primum respondebo. Animum adverti enim, hoc vos magnos oratores facere nonnunquam. Epistolas requiris meas. Ego autem nunquam, cum mihi denuntiatum esset a tuis, ire aliquem, non dedi. Quod mihi videor ex tuis literis intelligere, te nihil commissurum esse temere, nec ante quam scisses, quo iste nescio qui Caecilius Bassus erumperet, quidquam certi constituturum: id ego et speraram prudentia tua fretus, et ut considerem fecerunt tuae gratissimae mihi literae. Idque ut facias quam saepissime, ut et quid tu agas, et quid

quid agatur, scire possim, et etiam quid acturus sis, valde te rogo. Et si periniquo patiebar animo te a me digredi, tamen eo tempore me consolabar, quod et in summum otium te ire arbitrabar, et ab impendentibus magnis negotiis discedere. Utrumque contra accidit. Istic enim bellum est exortum, hic pax consecuta: sed tamen ejusmodi pax, in qua, si adesses, multa te non delectarent: ea, tamen, quae ne ipsum Caesarem quidem delectent. Bellorum enim civilium hi semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum fiant, quae velit victor, sed etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit, quibus adjutoribus sit parta victoria. Equidem sic jam obdurai, ut ludis Caesaris nostri aequissimo animo viderem T. Plancum, audirem² Laberii et Publii poemata. Nihil mihi tam deesse scito, quam qui cum haec familiariter docteque rideam. Is tu eris, si quam primum veneris. Quod ut facias, non mea solum sed etiam tua interesse arbitror.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.D.

LIBENTISSIME¹ legi tuas literas, in quibus jucundissimum mihi fuit, quod cognovi meas tibi redditas esse. Non enim dubitabam, quin eas lubenter lecturus esses. Verebar ut red-

derentur. Bellum quod est in Syria, Syriamque provinciam tibi tributam esse a Caesare, ex tuis literis cognovi. Eandem rem tibi volo bene et feliciter evenire. Quod ita fore confido, fretus et industria et prudentia tua. Sed de Parthici belli suspicione, quod scribis, fane me commovit. Quantum copiarum haberes, cum ipse conjectura consequi poteram, tum ex tuis literis cognovi. Itaque opto, ne se illa gens moveat hoc tempore, dum ad te legiones eae perducantur, quas audio duci. Quod si pares copias ad confli-gendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti consilio M.² Bibuli, qui se oppido munitissimo et copio-sissimo tamdiu tenuit, quamdiu in provincia Parthi fuerunt. Sed haec melius ex re et ex tempore constitues. Mihi quidem usque curae erit quid agas, dum, quid egeris, sciero. Literas ad te nunquam habui cui darem, quin dederim. A te ut idem facias peto : in primisque ut ita ad tuos scribas, ut me tuum sciant esse. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

M.T.C. P. CORNIFICIO S.D.

OMNEM¹ conditionem imperii tui, sta-tumque provinciae mihi demonstravit Stratorius. O multa intolerabilia locis omnibus! Sed, quo tua major dignitas, eo, quae tibi acci-derunt,

derunt, minus ferenda. Neque enim, quae tu propter magnitudinem et animi et ingenii moderate fers, a te non ulciscenda sunt, etiam si non sunt dolenda. Sed haec posterius. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio. Quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in primisque Caesaris Octaviani² conatum : de quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum, et probant. Quid quaeris? magna spes est in eo. Nihil est quod non existimetur laudis et gloriae causa facturum. Antonius autem, noster familiaris, tanto se odio esse intelligit, ut, cum interfectores suos domi comprehenderit, rem proferre non audeat. A. d. VII. idus Octobr. Brundisium venerat, profectus obviam legionibus³ Macedonicis quatuor, quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad urbem adducere, et in cervicibus nostris collocare. Habes formam reipublicae, si in castris potest esse respublica; in qua tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae reipublicae gustare potuisti. Atque antehac quidem sperare saltem licebat, nunc etiam id ereptum est. Quae enim est spes, cum in⁴ concione dicere ausus sit Antonius, Canutium apud eos sibi locum quaerere, quibus, se salvo, locus in civitate esse non

posset? Equidem et haec, et omnia, quae homini accidere possunt, sic fero, ut philosophiae magnam habeam gratiam, quae me non modo ab sollicitudine abducit, sed etiam contra omnes fortunae impetus armat: tibi que idem censeo faciendum, nec, a quo culpa absit, quidquam in malis numerandum. Sed haec tu melius. Stratorem nostrum cum semper probassem, tum maxime in tuis rebus summam ejus fidem, diligentiam, prudentiamque cognovi. Da operam ut valeas. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

EPISTOLA XXIX.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.D.

CAIUS Anicius, familiaris meus, vir omnibus rebus ornatus, negotiorum suorum causa legatus est in Africam legatione libera. Eum velim rebus omnibus adjuves, operamque des, ut quam commodissime sua negotia conficiat. In primisque, quod ei carissimum est, dignitatem ejus tibi commendo: idque a te peto, quod ipse in provincia facere sum solitus, non rogatus, ut omnibus senatoribus lictores darem: quod idem acceperam et cognoveram a summis viris factitatum. Hoc igitur, mi Cornifici, facies, caeterisque rebus omnibus ejus dignitati, rei que, si me amas, consules. Id erit mihi gratissimum, Da operam ut valeas,

EPIS-

EPISTOLA XXX.

CICERO CORNIFICIO S.D.

Q Turius¹, qui in Africa negotiatus est, vir bonus et honestus, heredes fecit similes sui, Cn. Saturninum, Sex. Aufidium, C. Anneium, Q. Confidium Gallum, L. Servilium Postumum, C. Rubellium. Ex eorum oratione intellexi, gratiarum actione eos magis egere, quam commendatione. Tanta enim liberalitate se tua usos praedicabant, ut iis plus a te tributum intelligerem, quam ego te auderem rogare. Audebo tamen. Scio enim quantum ponderis mea commendatio sit habitura. Quare a te peto, ut ad eam liberalitatem, qua sine meis literis usus es, quam maximus his literis cumulus accedat. Caput autem est meae commendationis, ne patiare Erotem Turium, Q. Turii libertum, ut adhuc fecit, hereditatem Turianam² avertere, caeterisque omnibus rebus habeas eos commendatissimos. Magnam ex eorum splendore et observantia capies voluptatem. Quod ut velis te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA XXXI.

M.T.C. Q. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

SEX.¹ Aufidius et observantia, qua me colit, accedit ad proximos: et splendore, equiti Romano nemini cedit. Est autem ita temperatis inmoderatisque moribus, ut summa severitas summa cum humanitate jungatur. Cujus tibi negotia, quae sunt in Africa, ita commendo, ut majore studio magisque ex animo commendare non possim. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intelligat, meas apud te literas maximum pondus habuisse. Hoc te vehementer, mi Cornifici, rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXXII.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

NOS¹ hic cum homine gladiatore, omnium nequissimo, collega nostro, Antonio, bellum gerimus: sed non pari conditione, contra arma verbis. At etiam de te concionatur: nec impune. Nam sentiet quos laceraverit. Ego autem acta ad te omnia arbitror perscribi ab aliis, a me futura debes cognoscere, quorum quidem non est difficilis conjectura. Oppressa omnia sunt: nec habent ducem boni, nostrique *τοῦ γενομένου* longe gentium absunt. Pansa et sentit

tit bene, et loquitur fortiter : Hirtius noster tardius convalescit. Quid futurum sit plane nescio. Spes tamen una est, aliquando populum Romanum majorum similem fore. Ego certe reipublicae non deero, et, quidquid acciderit, a quo mea culpa absit, animo forti feram. Illud profecto, quoad potero, tuam famam et dignitatem tuebor. A. d. XIII. kalendas Januar. senatus frequens mihi est assensus, cum de caeteris rebus magnis et necessariis, tum de provinciis, ab iis qui obtinerent, retinendis, neque cuiquam tradendis, nisi qui ex senatusconsulto successisset. Hoc ego cum reipublicae causa censui, tum mehercule in primis retinendae dignitatis tuae. Quamobrem te amoris nostri causa rogo, reipublicae causa hortor, ut ne cui quidquam juris in tua provincia esse patiare : atque ut omnia referas ad dignitatem, qua nihil potest esse praestantius. Vere tecum agam, ut necessitudo nostra postulat. In ³ Sempronio, si meis literis obtemperasses, maximam ab omnibus laudem adeptus esses. Sed illud et praeteriit, et levius est. Haec magna res est. Fac ut provinciam retineas in potestate reipublicae. Plura scripsissem, nisi tui festinarent. Itaque Cherippo nostro me velim excuses. Vale,

EPISTOLA XXXIII.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

EGO¹ nullum locum praetermitto, nec enim debeo, non modo laudandi tui, sed ne orandi quidem. Sed mea studia erga te et officia malo tibi ex tuorum literis, quam ex meis esse nota. Te tamen hortor, ut omni cura in rempublicam incumbas. Hoc est animi, hoc est ingenii tui, hoc ejus spei, quam habere debes, amplificandae dignitatis tuae. Sed hac de re alias ad te pluribus. Cum enim haec scribebam, in expectatione erant omnia. Nondum legati redierant, quos senatus non² ad pacem deprecandam, sed ad denuntiandum bellum miserat, nisi legatorum nuntio paruiisset. Ego tamen, ut primum³ occasio data est, meo pristino more rempublicam defendi: me principem senatui populoque Romano professus sum: nec postea quam suscepi causam libertatis, minimum tempus amisi tuendae salutis libertatisque communis. Sed haec quoque te ex aliis malo. T. Pinarium, familiarissimum meum, tanto tibi studio commendando, ut majore non possim. Cui cum propter omnes virtutes, tum etiam propter studia communia, sum amicissimus. Is procurat rationes negotiaque Dionysii nostri, quem et tu multum
amas

amas, et ego omnium plurimum. Ea tibi ego non debeo commendare : sed commendo tamen. Facies igitur ut ex Pinarii, gratissimi hominis literis tuum et erga illum, et erga Dionysium studium perspiciamus. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXXIV.

M.T.C. Q. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

ASSENTIOR ¹tibi eos, quos scribis Lilybaeo minari, istic poenas dare debuisse : sed metuisti, ut ais, ne nimis ²liber in ulciscendo viderere. Metuisti igitur, ne gravis civis, ne nimis fortis, ne nimis te dignus viderere. Quod societatem reipublicae conservandae tibi mecum a patre acceptam renovas, gratum est : quae societas inter nos semper, mi Cornifici, manebit. Gratum etiam illud, quod mihi tuo nomine gratias agendas non putas. Nec enim id inter nos facere debemus. Senatus saepius pro dignitate tua appellaretur, si, absentibus consulibus, unquam, nisi ad rem novam, cogeretur. Itaque nec de HS xx. nec de HS 1000. quidquam agi nunc per senatum potest. Tibi autem ex ³senatusconsulto imperandum, mutuumque sumendum censeo. In republica quid agatur credo te ex eorum literis cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent perscribere. Ego sum spe ⁴bona : consilio, cura, labore

re non desum : omnibus inimicis reipublicae esse me acerrimum hostem prae me fero. Res⁵ neque nunc difficili loco mihi videtur esse : et fuisset facillimo, si culpa a quibusdam abfuisset, Vale.

EPISTOLA XXXV.

M.T.C. Q. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

NON modo tibi, cui omnia nostra notissima sunt, sed neminem in populo Romano arbitror esse, cui sit ignota ea familiaritas, quae mihi cum L.¹ Lamia est. Etenim magno theatro spectata est tum, cum est ab A. Gabinio consule relegatus, quod libere et fortiter salutem meam defendisset. Nec ex eo amor inter nos natus est : sed quod erat vetus et magnus, propterea nullum periculum pro me adire dubitavit. Ad haec officia, vel merita potius, jucundissima consuetudo accedit, ut nullo prorsus plus homine delecter. Non puto te jam expectare, quibus eum tibi verbis² commendarem. Causas enim tanti amoris intelligis : quae verba desideret, iis me omnibus usum putato. Tantum velim existimes, si negotia Lamiae, procuratores, libertos, familiam, quibuscunque rebus opus erit, defenderis, gratius mihi futurum, quam si ea tua liberalitas pertinuisset ad rem familiarem meam

am. Nec dubito quin sine mea commendatione, quod tuum est iudicium de hominibus, ipsius Lamiae causa studiose omnia facturum sis: quamquam erat nobis dictum, te existimare, alicui senatusconsulto, quod contra dignitatem tuam fieret, scribendo Lamiam affuisse: qui omnino consulibus illis nunquam fuit ad scribendum: deinde omnia tum falsa senatusconsulta deferebantur. Nisi forte etiam illi Semproniano senatusconsulto me censes affuisse: qui ne Romae quidem tum fui, deque eo ad te scripsi, re recenti. Sed haec haec. Te, mi Cornifici, etiam atque etiam rogo, ut omnia Lamiae negotia, mea putes esse: curesque, ut intelligat hanc commendationem maximo sibi usui fuisse. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Cura ut valeas.

EPISTOLA XXXVI.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

LIBERALIBUS¹ literas accepi tuas, quas mihi Cornificius altero vicesimo die, ut dicebat, reddidit. Eo die non fuit senatus, neque postero. Quinquatribus² frequenti senatu causam tuam egi non invita Minerva. Etenim, eo ipso die senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, custos urbis, quam turbo dejecerat, restitueretur. Pansa tuas literas recitavit. Magna senatus approba-

tio

tio consecuta est cum summo gaudio, et offensione Minotauri, id est, Calvisii³ et Tauri. Factum de te senatusconsultum honorificum. Postulabatur, ut etiam illi notarentur: sed Pansa clementior. Ego, mi Cornifici, quo die primum in spem libertatis ingressus sum, et cunctantibus caeteris a. d. XIII. kal. Jan. fundamenta jeci reipublicae, eo ipso die providi multum, atque habui rationem dignitatis tuae. Mihi enim est assensus senatus de obtinendis provinciis. Nec vero postea destiti labefactare eum, qui summa cum tua injuria, contumeliaque reipublicae provinciam absens obtinebat. Itaque crebras vel potius quotidianas compellationes meas non tulit, seque in urbem recepit invitus: neque solum spe, sed certa re jam et possessione deturbatus est. Meo justissimo honestissimoque convicio te tuam dignitatem summa tua virtute tenuisse, provinciaeque honoribus amplissimis affectum, vehementer gaudeo. Quod te mihi de Sempronio purgas, accipio excusationem. Fuit enim illud quoddam⁴ caecum tempus servitutis. Ego tuorum consiliorum auctor, dignitatisque fautor, iratus temporibus in Graeciam, desperata libertate; rapiebar: cum me Etessiae, quasi boni cives, relinquentem rempublicam prosequi noluerunt: Austerque adversus maximo flatu me
ad

ad tribules tuos Regium retulit : atque inde, ventis, remis, in patriam omni festinatione properavi, postridieque in summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. Sic sum in Antonium invehctus, ut ille non ferret, omnemque suum vinolentum furorem in me unum effunderet : meque cum elicere vellet ad caedis causam, tum tentaret infidiis : quem ego ructantem et nauseantem^s conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas. Puer enim egregius praesidium sibi primum, et nobis, deinde summae reipublicae comparavit : qui nisi fuisset, Antonii reditus a Brundisio pestis patriae fuisset. Quae deinceps acta sint scire te arbitror. Sed redeamus ad illud, unde divertimus. Accipio excusationem tuam de Sempronio. Neque enim statuti quid in tanta perturbatione habere potuisti. “ Nunc hic dies aliam vitam defert, “ alios mores postulat,” ut ait Terentius. Quamobrem, mi Quinte, conscende nobiscum, et quidem ad puppim. Una navis est jam bonorum omnium : quam quidem nos damus operam, ut rectam teneamus. Utinam prospero cursu. Sed quicunque venti erunt, ars nostra certe non aberit. Quid enim praestare aliud virtus potest ? Tu fac magno animo sis et excelsio : cogitesque, omnem dignitatem tuam cum republica conjunctam esse debere. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXXVII.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

PLUCCEIUM¹ mihi meum commendas: quem, quibuscunque rebus potero, diligenter tuebor. Hirtium quidem et Panfam, collegas nostros, homines in consulatu reipublicae salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus, reipublica Antoniano quidem latrocinio liberata, sed nondum omnino explicata: quam nos, si licebit, more nostro tuebimur: quanquam admodum sumus jam defatigati. Sed nulla lassitudo impedire officium et fidem debet. Verum haec haftenus. Ab aliis te de me, quam a me ipso malo cognoscere. De te audiebamus ea, quae maxime vellemus. De Cn. Minucio, quem tu quibusdam literis ad coelum laudibus extulisti, rumores duriores erant. Id quale sit, omninoque quid istic agatur, facias me velim certiolem. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXXVIII.

M.T.C. CORNIFICIO S.P.D.

ITANE praeter¹ litigatores, nemo ad te meas literas? multae istae quidem. Tu enim perfecisti, ut nemo sine literis meis tibi se commendatum putaret. Sed quis unquam tuorum mihi dixit

dixit esse, cui darem, quin dederim? aut quid mihi jucundius, quam, cum coram tecum loqui non possim, aut scribere ad te, aut tuas legere literas? Illud magis mihi solet esse molestum, tantis me impediri occupationibus, ut ad te scribendi meo arbitrato facultas nulla detur. Non enim te epistolis, sed voluminibus lacefferem: quibus quidem me a te provocari oportebat. Quamvis enim occupatus sis, otii tamen plus habes. Aut, si ne tu quidem vacas, noli impudens esse, nec² mihi molestiam exhibere, et a me literas crebriores, cum tu mihi raro mittas, flagitare. Nam cum antea distinebar maximis occupationibus, propterea quod omnibus curis rempublicam mihi tuendam putabam, tum hoc tempore multo distineor vehementius. Ut enim gravius aegrotant ii, qui cum levati morbo videntur, in eum de integro inciderunt: sic vehementius nos laboramus, qui, profligato bello, ac paene sublato, renovatum bellum gerere conamur. Sed haec haecenus. Tu tibi, mi Cornifici, fac ut persuadeas: non esse me tam imbecillo animo, ne dicam inhumano, ut a te vinci possim aut officiis, aut amore. Non dubitabam equidem: veruntamen multo mihi notio-rem amorem tuum effecit Cherippus. O hominem semper illum quidem mihi aptum,

nunc vero etiam suavem! Vultus mehercule tuos mihi expressit omnes, non solum animum ac verba pertulit. Itaque noli vereri, ne tibi succensuerim, quod eodem exemplo ad me, quo ad caeteros. Requisivi equidem proprias ad me unum literas, sed neque vehementer, et amanter. De sumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere et fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod et orbus senatus, consilibus amissis, et incredibiles angustiae pecuniae publicae, quae conquiritur undique, ut optime meritis militibus promissa solvantur: quod quidem fieri sine³ tributo posse non arbitror. De Attio Dionysio nihil puto esse: quoniam mihi nihil dixit Stratorius. De P.⁴ Luceio nihil tibi concedo, quo studiosior ejus sis, quam ego sum. Est enim nobis necessarius. Sed a magistris cum contenderem de proferendo die, probaverunt mihi, sese, quo minus id facerent, et compromisso, et jurejurando impediri. Quare veniendum arbitror Luceio. Quanquam, si meis literis obtemperavit, cum tu haec leges, illum Romae esse oportebit. Caeteris de rebus, maximeque de pecunia, cum Panfae mortem ignorares, scripsisti, quae per nos ab eo consequi te posse arbitrare. Quae te non fefellissent, si viveret. Nam te diligebat. Post mortem autem
ejus

eius quid fieri posset, non videbamus. De ⁵ Venuleio, Latino, Horatio, valde laudo. Illud non nimium probo, quod scribis, quo illi animo aequiore ferrent, te tuis etiam legatis lictores admisse. Honore enim digni cum ignominia dignis non erant comparandi: eosque ex senatusconsulto, si non decedunt, cogendos, ut decedant, existimo. Haec fere ad eas literas, quas eodem exemplo binas accepi. De reliquo velim tibi persuadeas, non esse mihi meam dignitatem tuam cariorum. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER XIII.

EPISTOLA I.

M.T.C. C. MEMMIO S.P.D.

ETSI¹ non satis mihi constiterat, cum aliquane animi mei molestia, an potius libenter te Athenis visurus essem, quod injuria, quam accepisti, dolore me afficeret; sapientia tua, qua fers injuriam, laetitia: tamen vidisse te malletm. Nam quod est molestiae, non fane multo levius est, cum te non video. Quod esse potuit

potuit voluptatis, certe, si vidissem te, plus fuisset. Itaque non dubitabo dare operam ut te videam, cum id satis commode facere potero. Interea, quod per literas et agi tecum, et, ut arbitror, confici potest, agam nunc. Ac te illud primum rogabo, ne quid invitus mea causa facias : sed id, quod mea intelliges multum, tua nullam in partem interesse, ita mihi des, si tibi, ut id libenter facias, ante persuaferis. Cum Patrone Epicureo mihi omnia sunt : nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. Sed et initio Romae, cum te quoque et tuos omnes observabat, me coluit in primis : et nuper, cum ea, quae voluit, de suis commodis et praemiis consecutus est, me habuit suorum defensorum et amicorum fere principem. Etiam a Phaedro, qui nobis, cum pueri essemus, ante quam Philonem² cognovimus, valde ut philosophus ; postea tamen ut vir bonus, et suavis, et officiosus probabatur, traditus mihi, commendatusque est. Is igitur Patro, cum ad me Romam literas misisset, uti te sibi placarem, peteremque, ut nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum sibi concederes, nihil scripsi ad te ob eam rem, quod aedificationis tuae consilium mea commendatione nolebam impediri. Idem, ut veni Athenas, cum idem ut ad te scriberem rogasset, ob eam causam im-

petravit, quod te abjecisse illam aedificationem constabat inter omnes amicos tuos. Quod si ita est, et si jam plane tua nihil interest, velim, si qua offensuscula facta est animi tui, perversitate aliquorum; novi enim gentem illam, des te ad lenitatem, vel propter tuam summam humanitatem, vel etiam honoris mei causa. Equidem si, quid ipse sentiam, quaeris; nec, cur ille tantopere contendat, video; nec, cur tu repugnes: nisi tamen multo minus tibi concedi potest, quam illi, laborare sine causa. Quanquam Patronis et orationem et causam tibi cognitam esse certo scio. Honorem, officium, testamentorum³ jus, Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, sedem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum, sibi tuenda esse dicit. Totam hominis vitam, rationemque, quam sequitur in philosophia, derideamus licet, si hanc ejus contentionem volumus reprehendere. Sed, mehercules, quando illi, caeterisque, quos illa delectant, non valde inimici sumus, nescio an ignoscendum sit huic, si tantopere laborat: in quo etiam si peccat, magis ineptiis quam improbitate peccat. Sed ne plura, dicendum enim aliquando est, Pomponium Atticum sic amo, ut alterum fratrem: nihil est illo mihi nec carius, nec jucundius. Is, non quo sit ex istis: est enim omni liberali doctrina

trina politissimus: sed valde diligit Patronem, valde Phaedrum amavit, sic a me hoc contendit homo minime ambitiosus, minime in rogando molestus, ut nihil unquam magis: nec dubitat, quin ego a te nutu hoc consequi possem, etiam si aedificaturus esses. Nunc vero si audierit te aedificationem deposuisse, neque tamen me a te impetrasse, non te in me illiberalem, sed me in se negligentem putabit. Quamobrem peto a te, ut scribas ad tuos, posse tua voluntate decretum illud Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμὸν illi vocant, tolli. Sed redeo ad prima. Prius velim tibi persuadeas, ut hoc mea causa libenter facias, quam ut facias. Sic tamen habeto, si feceris quod rogo, fore mihi gratissimum. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

CICERO MEMMIO SAL.

CAIO Aviano ¹ Evandro, qui habitat in tuo ² sacratio, et ipso multum utor, et patrono ejus M. AEmilio familiarissime. Peto igitur a te in majorem modum, quod sine tua molestia fiat, ut ei de habitatione accommodes. Nam propter opera instituta multa multorum, subitum est ei ³ remigrare Kal. Quint. Impedior verecundia, ne te pluribus verbis rogem. Neque

tamen dubito, quin, si tua nihil aut non multum interfit, eo sis animo, quo ego essem, si quid tu me rogares. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. C. MEMMIO S.P.D.

AULUM¹ Fusium, unum ex meis intimis, observantissimum studiosissimumque nostri, eruditum hominem, et summa humanitate, tuaque amicitia dignissimum, velim ita tractes, ut mihi coram recepisti. Tam gratum mihi id erit, quam quod gratissimum. Ipsum praeterea summo officio, et summa observantia tibi in perpetuum devinxeris. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. Q. VALERIO, Q.F. ORCAE,
LEG. PROPRAET. S.D.

CUM municipibus¹ Volaterranis mihi summa necessitudo est. Magno enim meo beneficio affecti, cumulatissime mihi gratiam retulerunt. Nam nec in honoribus meis, nec in laboribus unquam defuerunt. Cum quibus si mihi nulla causa intercederet, tamen, quod te vehementissime diligo, quodque me a te pluri mi fieri sentio, et monerem te, et hortarer, ut eorum fortunis consuleres, praesertim cum prope

pe praecipuam causam haberent ad jus obtinendum. Primum quod² Syllani temporis acerbitate, deorum immortalium benignitate subterfugerunt: deinde, quod summo studio populi Romani a me in consulatu meo defensi sunt. Cum tribuni pl. legem iniquissimam de eorum agris promulgavissent, facile S. P. Q. R. persuasi, ut eos cives, quibus fortuna pepercisset, salvos esse vellent. Hanc actionem meam C. Caesar primo suo³ consulatu in lege Agraria comprobavit, agrumque Volaterranum, et oppidum omni periculo in perpetuum liberavit: ut mihi dubium non sit, quin is, qui novas necessitudines adjungat, vetera sua beneficia conservari velit. Quamobrem est tuae prudentiae, aut sequi ejus auctoritatem, cujus sectam atque imperium summa cum tua dignitate secutus es: aut certe illi integram omnem causam reservare. Illud vero dubitare non debes, quin tam grave, tam firmum, tam honestum municipium tibi tuo summo beneficio in perpetuum obligari velis. Sed haec, quae supra scripta sunt, eo spectant, ut te horter, et suadeam. Reliqua sunt, quae pertinent ad rogandum: ut non solum tua causa tibi consilium me dare putes, sed etiam quod mihi opus sit, me a te petere, et rogare. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si Volaterranos omnibus

omnibus rebus integros incolumesque esse volueris. Eorum ego domicilia, sedes, rem, fortunas, quae a diis immortalibus, et a praestantissimis in nostra republica civibus, summo S.P.Q.R. studio, conservatae sunt, tuae fidei, iustitiae bonitatisque commendo. Si pro meis pristinis opibus facultatem mihi res hoc tempore daret, ut ita defendere possem Volaterranos, quemadmodum consuevi tueri meos; nullum officium, nullum denique certamen, in quo illis prodesse possem, praetermitterem. Sed, quando apud te nihilo minus hoc tempore valere me confido, quam valuerim semper apud omnes: pro nostra summa necessitudine, parique inter nos et mutua benevolentia abs te peto, ut ita de Volaterranis mereare, ut existiment, eum quasi divino consilio isti negotio praepositum esse, apud quem unum nos, eorum perpetui defensores, plurimum valere possumus. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M.T.C. Q. VALERIO, Q.F. ORCAE,
LEG. PROPRAET. S.P.D.

NON moleste¹ fero, eam necessitudinem, quae mihi tecum est, notam esse quam plurimis: neque tamen ob eam causam, quod tu optime existimare potes, te impedio, quo minus

minus susceptum negotium pro tua fide et diligentia, ex voluntate Caesaris, qui tibi rem magnam difficilemque commisit, gerere possis. Nam cum multi a me petant multa, quod de tua erga me voluntate non dubitent; non committo ut ambitione mea conturbem officium tuum. C. Curtio ab ineunte aetate familiarissime sum usus. Ejus et Syllani temporis injustissima calamitate dolui: et cum iis, qui similem injuriam acceperant, amissis omnibus fortunis, reditus tamen in patriam voluntate omnium concedi videretur, adjutor incolumitatis fui. Is habet in Volaterrano possessionem, cum in eam tanquam e naufragio reliquias contulisset. Hoc autem tempore eum Caesar in senatum² legit: quem ordinem ille, ista possessione amissa, tueri vix potest. Gravissimum autem est, cum superior factus sit ordine, inferiorem esse fortuna: minimeque convenit, ex eo agro, qui Caesaris jussu dividatur, eum moveri, qui Caesaris beneficio senator sit. Sed mihi minus libet multa de aequitate rei scribere, ne causa potius apud te valuisse videar, quam gratia. Quamobrem te in majorem modum rogo, ut C. Curtii rem, meam putes esse: quidquid mea causa faceres, ut id C. Curtii causa cum feceris, existimes, quod ille per me habuerit, id me habere abs te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.

M. T. C. Q. VALERIO, Q. F. ORCAE,
PROCOS. S. P. D.

S V. B. E. E. V. Credo te memoria tenere, me et coram P. Cuspio¹ tecum locutum esse, cum te prosequerer paludatum: et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse, ut, quoscunque tibi ejus necessarios commendarem, haberes eos in numero meorum necessariorum. Id tu pro tua summa erga me benevolentia, perpetuaque observantia, mihi liberalissime atque humanissime recepisti. Cuspius, homo in omnes suos officiosissimus, mirifice quosdam homines ex ista provincia tuetur, et diligit, propterea quod fuit in Africa bis, cum maximis societatis² negotiis praeesset. Itaque hoc ejus officium, quod adhibet erga illos, ego mea facultate et gratia soleo, quantum possum, adjuvare. Quare Cuspianorum omnium commendationis causam hac tibi epistola exponendam putavi. Reliquis epistolis, tantum faciam, ut³ notam apponam eam, quae mihi tecum convenit, et simul significem de numero esse Cuspiani amicorum. Sed hanc commendationem, quam his literis consignare volui, scito esse omnium gravissimam. Nam P. Cuspius singulari studio contendit a me, ut tibi quam diligentissime L. Julium commendarer.

rem. Ejus ego studio vix videor mihi satisfacere posse, si utar verbis iis, quibus, cum diligentissime quid agimus, uti solemus. Nova quaedam postulat, et putat me ejus generis artificium quoddam tenere. Ei ego pollicitus sum, me ex intima nostra arte deprompturum mirificum genus commendationis. Id quando assequi non possum, tu re velim efficias, ut ille genere mearum literarum incredibili quiddam perfectum arbitretur. Id facies, si omne genus liberalitatis, quod et ab humanitate, et potestate tua proficisci poterit, non modo re, sed etiam verbis, vultu denique⁴ exprompseris: quae quantum in provincia valeant, vellem expertus esses. Sed tamen suspicor, ipsum hominem, quem tibi commendo, perdignum esse tua amicitia: non solum, quia mihi Cuspius dicit, credo, tametsi id satis esse debebat, sed quia novi ejus judicium in hominibus, et amicis deligendis. Harum literarum vis quanta fuerit, propediem judicabo: tibi que, ut confido, gratias agam. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo. Cura ut valeas. P. Cornelius, qui tibi literas dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus: cujus causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque, profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo ut cures,

res, ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspius quam maximas, quam primum, quam saepissime gratias agat. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

M.T.C. CLUVIO S.P.D:

CUM in Galliam¹ proficiscens, pro nostra necessitudine, tuaque summa in me observantia ad me domum venisses, locutus sum tecum de agro vectigali municipii Atellani, qui esset in Gallia: quantoque opere ejus municipii causa laborarem tibi ostendi. Post tuam autem profectionem, cum et maxima res municipii honestissimi mihiq[ue] conjunctissimi, et summum meum officium ageretur, pro tuo animo in me singulari, existimavi, me oportere ad te accuratius scribere: etsi non sum nescius, et quae temporum ratio, et quae tua potestas sit: tibiq[ue] negotium datum esse a C. Caesare, non iudicium, praeclare intelligo. Quare a te tantum peto, quantum et te facere posse, et libenter mea causa facturum esse arbitror. Et primum velim existimes quod res est, municipii fortunas omnes in isto vectigali consistere: his autem temporibus hoc municipium maximis oneribus pressum, summis affectum esse difficultatibus. Hoc etsi commune videtur esse cum multis, tamen,

tamen, mihi crede, singulares huic municipio calamitates accidisse. Quas idcirco non commemoro, ne de miseriis meorum necessariorum conquerens, homines, quos nolo, videar offendere. Itaque, nisi magnam spem haberem, C. Caesari nos causam municipii probaturos; non erat causa, cur a te hoc tempore aliquid contenderem. Sed quia confido, mihiq[ue] persuasi, illum et dignitatis municipii, et aequitatis, etiam voluntatis erga se habiturum esse rationem: ideo a te non dubitavi contendere, ut hanc causam illi integram conservares. Quod etsi nihilominus a te peterem, si nihil audivissem te tale fecisse: tamen maiorem spem impetrandi actus sum, postea quam mihi dictum est, hoc idem a te Regienses² impetravisse. Qui etsi te aliqua necessitudine attingunt: tamen tuus amor in me sperare me cogit, te, quod tuis necessariis tribueris, idem esse tributurum meis: praesertim cum ego pro his unis petam: habeam autem, qui simili causa laborent, complures necessarios. Hoc me non sine causa facere, neque aliqua levi ambitione commotum a te contendere, etsi te existimare arbitror: tamen mihi affirmanti credas velim, me huic municipio debere plurimum: nullum unquam fuisse tempus, neque honorum, neque laborum meorum, in quo non hujus municipii

nicipii studium in me extiterit singulare. Quapropter a te etiam atque etiam, pro nostra summa conjunctione, proque tua benevolentia, majorem in modum peto atque contendo, ut, cum fortunas agi ejus municipii intelligas, quod fit mihi necessitudine, officiis, benevolentia conjunctionissimum, id mihi des. Quod erit hujusmodi, ut, si a Caesare, quod speramus, impetrarimus, tuo beneficio nos id consecutos esse judicemus. Sin minus: pro eo tamen id habeamus, cum a te data sit opera, ut impetraremus. Hoc cum mihi gratissimum feceris: tum viros optimos, homines honestissimos, eosdemque gratissimos, summo beneficio in perpetuum tibi, tuisque devinxis. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. M. RUTILIO S.P.D.

CUM et mihi conscius¹ essem quanti te facerem, et tuam erga me benevolentiam expertus essem, non dubitavi a te petere, quod mihi petendum esset. P. Sextium² quanti faciam, ipse optime scio: quanti autem facere debeam, et tu, et omnes homines sciunt. Is cum ex aliis te mei studiosissimum esse cognovisset, petivit a me, ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem de re C. Albinii senatoris: cujus ex filia natus est

L. Sextius,

L. Sextius, optimus adolescens, filius P. Sextii. Hoc idcirco scripsi, ut intelligeres, non solum me pro P. Sextio laborare debere, sed Sextium etiam pro Albino. Res autem est haec. A. M. Laberio C. Albinus praedia in ³ aestimationem accepit, quae praedia Laberius emerat a Caesare de bonis Plotianis. Ea si dicam non esse e republica dividi, docere te videar, non rogare. Sed tamen cum Caesar Syllanas venditiones et assignationes ratas esse velit, quo firmiores existimentur suae: si ea praedia dividantur, quae ipse Caesar vendidit, quae tandem in ejus venditionibus esse poterit auctoritas? Sed hoc quale sit, tu pro tua prudentia considerabis. Ego te plane rogo, atque ita, ut majore studio, justiore de causa, magis ex animo rogare nihil possim, ut Albino parcas, praedia Laberiana ne attingas. Magna me affeceris non modo laetitia, sed etiam quodammodo gloria, si P. Sextius homini maxime necessario satisfecerit per me, cum ego illi uni plurimum debeam. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Majus mihi dare beneficium nullum potes. Id mihi intelliges esse gratissimum.

EPISTOLA IX.

M. T. C. CRASSIPEDI S. P. D.

QUANQUAM¹ tibi praesens commendavi, ut potui, diligentissime, socios Bithyniae: teque cum mea commendatione, tum etiam tua sponte intellexi cupere ei societati, quibuscunque rebus posses, commodare: tamen, cum ii, quorum res agitur, magni sua interesse arbitrarentur, me etiam per literas declarare tibi, qua essem erga ipsos voluntate, non dubitavi haec ad te scribere. Volo enim te existimare, me cum universo ordini publicanorum multum semper libentissime tribuerim, idque magnis ejus ordinis erga me meritis facere debuerim, tum in primis amicum esse huic Bythynicae societati, quae societas ordine ipso, et hominum genere, pars est maxima civitatis. Constat enim ex caeteris societatibus: et casu permulti sunt in ea societate valde mihi familiares: in primisque is, cujus praecipuum officium agitur hoc tempore, P.² Rupilius P. F. Men. qui est magister in ea societate. Quae cum ita sint, in majorem modum a te peto, Cn. Pupium, qui est in operis ejus societatis, omnibus tuis officiis atque omni liberalitate tueare: curesque, ut ejus operae, quod tibi facile factu est, quam gratissimae

mae sint sociis: remque et utilitatem sociorum, cuius rei quantam potestatem quaestor habeat non sum ignarus, per te quam maxime defensam et auctam velis. Id cum mihi gratissimum feceris, tum illud tibi expertus promitto et spondeo, te socios Bithyniae, si iis commodaris, memores esse et gratos, cogniturum.

EPISTOLA X.

CICERO BRUTO S.

CUM¹ ad te tuus quaestor, M. Varro, proficisceretur, commendatione egere eum non putabam. Satis enim commendatum tibi eum arbitrabar ab ipso more majorum: qui, ut te non fugit, hanc quaesturae conjunctionem² liberorum necessitudini proximam voluit esse. Sed cum sibi ita persuasisset ipse, meas de se accurate scriptas literas maximum apud te pondus habituras, a meque contenderet, ut quam diligentissime scriberem, malui facere, quod meus familiaris tanti sua interesse arbitraretur. Ut igitur debere me facere hoc intelligas, cum primum M. Terentius in forum³ venit, ad amicitiam se meam contulit. Deinde, ut se corroboravit, duae causae accesserunt, quae meam in illum benevolentiam auxerunt. Una, quod versabatur in hoc studio nostro, quo etiam nunc

maxime delectamur, et cum ingenio, ut nosti, nec sine industria. Deinde, quod mature se contulit in societates publicanorum, quod quidem nollem: maximis enim damnis affectus est. Sed tamen causa communis ordinis mihi commendatissimi fecit amicitiam nostram firmiorem. Deinde versatus in utrisque⁴ subselliis optima et fide et fama, jam ante hanc commutationem reipublicae petitioni sese dedit, honoremque honestissimum existimavit fructum laboris sui. His autem temporibus a me Brundisio cum literis et mandatis profectus ad Caesarem est: qua in re et amorem ejus in suscipiendo negotio perspexi, et in conficiendo ac renuntiando fidem. Videor mihi, cum separatim de probitate ejus et moribus dicturus fuisssem, si prius causam, cur eum tantopere diligerem, tibi exposuisssem, in ipsa causa exponenda satis etiam de probitate dixisse. Sed tamen separatim promitto, in meque recipio, fore eum tibi et voluptati et usui. Nam et modestum hominem cognosces, et prudentem, et a cupiditate omni remotissimum: praeterea magni laboris, summaeque industriae. Neque ego haec polliceri debeo, quae tibi ipsi, cum bene cognoris, judicanda sunt: Sed tamen in omnibus novis conjunctionibus interest, qualis primus aditus sit, et qua commendatione quasi amici-

amicitiae fores aperiantur. Quod ego his literis efficere volui. Etsi id ipsa per se necessitudo quaesturae efficere debet. Sed tamen nihilo infirmius illud, hoc addito. Cura igitur, si me tanti facis, quanti et Varro existimat, et ipse sentio, ut quam primum intelligam, hanc meam commendationem tantum illi utilitatis attulisse, quantum et ipse sperarit, nec ego dubitarim.

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. BRUTO S.P.D.

QUIA semper animadverti, studiose te operam dare, ut ne quid meorum tibi esset ignotum, propterea non dubito, quin scias non solum, cujus municipii sim, sed etiam, quam diligenter soleam meos municipes¹ Arpinates tueri. Quorum quidem omnia commoda, omnesque facultates, quibus et sacra conficere, et facta tecta aedium sacrarum locorumque communium tueri possint, consistunt in his vectigalibus, quae habent in provincia Gallia. Ad ea visenda, pecuniasque, quae a colonis debentur, exigendas, totamque rem et cognoscendam, et administrandam, legatos equites Romanos missimus Q. Fufidium Q. F. M. Faucium M. F. Q. Mamercum Q. F. Peto a te in maiorem modum, pro nostra necessitudine, ut tibi ea res cu-

rae sit, operamque des, ut per te quam commodissime negotium municipii administretur, quam primumque conficiatur : ipsosque, quorum nomina scripsi, ut quam honorificentissime pro tua natura, et quam liberalissime tractes. Bonos viros ad tuam necessitudinem adjunxeris : municipiumque gratissimum beneficio tuo devin- xeris : mihi vero etiam gratius feceris, quod cum semper tueri municipes meos consuevi, tum hic annus praecipue ad meam curam officiumque pertinet. Nam constituendi municipii causa, hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui, et fratris filium, et M. Caesium, hominem mihi maxime necessarium : is enim magistratus in nostro municipio, nec² alius ullus creari solet : quos cohonestaris, in primisque me, si res publica municipii, tuo studio, et diligentia bene administrata erit. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA XII.

M.T.C. BRUTO S.P.D.

ALIA epistola communiter commendavi tibi legatos Arpinatium, ut potui diligentissime : hac separatim Q. Fufidium, quocum mihi omnes necessitudines sunt, diligentius commendo : non ut aliquid de illa commendatione

tione¹ comminuam, sed ut hanc addam. Nam et privignus est M. Caesii, mei maxime et familiaris, et necessarii, et fuit in Cilicia mecum tribunus militum : quo in munere ita se tractavit, ut accepisse ab eo beneficium viderer, non dedisse. Est praeterea, quod apud te valet plurimum, a nostris studiis non abhorrens. Quare velim, eum quam liberalissime complectare : operamque des, ut in ea legatione, quam suscepit contra suum commodum, secutus auctoritatem meam, quam maxime ejus excellat industria. Vult enim id, quod optimo cuique natura tributum est, quam maximam laudem, cum a nobis, qui eum impulimus, tum a municipio consequi : quod ei continget, si hac mea commendatione tuum erga se studium erit consecutus.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.T.C. BRUTO S.P.D.

L Castronius¹ Paetus, longe princeps municipii Lucensis, est honestus, gravis, plenus officii, bonus plane vir, et cum virtutibus, tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus : meus autem est familiarissimus, sic prorsus, ut nostri ordinis observet neminem diligentius. Quare ut et meum amicum, et tua

dignum amicitia, tibi commendo. Cui quibuscunque rebus commodaveris, tibi profecto jucundum, mihi certe erit gratum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.T.C. BRUTO S.P.D.

L Titio Strabone, equite Romano, in primis honesto et ornato, familiarissime utor. Omnia mihi cum eo intercedunt jura summae necessitudinis. Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae jus dicit, rejecta in Galliam est. Peto a te hoc diligentius, quam si mea res esset, quo est honestius de amicorum pecunia laborare, quam de sua, ut negotium conficiendum cures. Ipse suscipias, transigas, operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima conditione libertus Strabonis, qui ejus ire causa missus est, negotium conficiat, ad nummosque perveniat. Id et mihi gratissimum erit: et tu ipse L. Titium cognosces amicitia tua dignissimum. Quod ut tibi curae sit, ut omnia solent esse, quae me velle scis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA XV.

M.T.C. C. CAESARI IMP. S.P.D.

PRAECILIUM¹ tibi commendo unice, tui
 necessarii, mei familiarissimi, viri optimi
 filium: quem cum adolescentem ipsum propter
 ejus modestiam, humanitatem, animum et amo-
 rem erga me singularem mirifice diligo: tum
 patrem ejus, re doctus, intellexi et didici mihi
 fuisse semper amicissimum. Hem, hic ille est, de
 illis maxime, qui irridere atque objurgare me
 solitus est, quod me non tecum, praesertim cum
 abs te honorificentissime invitarer, conjunge-
 rem.

² Ἄλλ' ἐμὸν ἔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν.

Audiebam enim³ nostros procures clamitantes,

Ἀλκιμος ἔσθ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπη.

Ὡς νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

Sed tamen iidem me consolantur: et jam ho-
 minem perustum, etiamnum gloria volunt in-
 cendere: atque ita loquuntur:

Μὴ μὰν ἀσπεδεῖ γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοιμήν,

Ἄλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

Sed me minus jam movent, ut vides. Itaque ab
 Homeri magniloquentia confero me ad vera
 praecepta Εὐριπίδου.

⁴ Μισῶ

⁴ Μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις ἔχ' αὐτῷ σοφός.

Quem versum senex Praecilius laudat egregie: et ait, posse eundem et ⁶ ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω videre, et tamen nihilominus,

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Sed, ut redeam ad id unde coepi, vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si hunc adolescentem humanitate tua, quae est singularis, comprehenderis: et ad id, quod ipsorum Praeciliorum causa te velle arbitror, addideris cumulum commendationis meae. Genere novo sum literarum ad te usus, ut intelligeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem.

EPISTOLA XVI.

M. T. C. C. CAESARI IMP. S. P. D.

PUBLIUM Crassum ¹ ex omni nobilitate adolescentem dilexi plurimum: et ex ² eo, cum ab ineunte ejus aetate bene speravissem, tum per me existimare coepi ex iis judiciis, quae de eo feceram, cognitis. Ejus libertum Apollonium jam tum equidem, cum ille viveret, et magni faciebam, et probabam. Erat enim et studiosus Crassi, et ad ejus optima studia vehementer aptus. Itaque ab eo admodum diligebatur. Post mortem autem Crassi, eo mihi etiam dignior visus est, quem

quem in fidem atque amicitiam meam recipe-
rem, quod eos a se observandos et colendos pu-
tabat, quos ille dilexisset, et quibus carus fuisset.
Itaque et ad me in Ciliciam venit, multisque in
rebus mihi magno usui fuit, et fides ejus, et pru-
dentia: et, ut opinor, tibi in Alexandrino bello,
quantum studio et fidelitate consequi potuit, non
defuit. Quod cum speraret te quoque ita exi-
stimare, in Hispaniam ad te, maxime ille qui-
dem suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est pro-
fectus. Cui ego commendationem non sum pol-
licitus, non quin eam valituram apud te arbi-
trarer: sed neque mihi egere commendatione
videbatur, qui et in bello tecum fuisset, et pro-
pter memoriam Craffi de tuis unus esset: et si
uti commendationibus vellet, etiam per alios
eum videbam id consequi posse. Testimonium
mei de eo judicii, quod et ipse magni aesti-
mabat, et ego apud te valere eram expertus, ei
libenter dedi. Doctum igitur hominem cogno-
vi, et studiis optimis deditum, idque a puero.
Nam domi meae cum Diodoto Stoico, homine,
meo judicio, eruditissimo, multum a puero fuit.
Nunc autem incensus studio rerum tuarum, eas
literis Graecis mandare cupiebat. Posse arbitror:
valet ingenio, habet usum, jam pridem in eo
genere studii literarumque versatur: satisfacere
immor-

immortalitati laudum tuarum mirabiliter cupit. Habes opinionis meae testimonium: sed tu hoc facilius multo, pro tua singulari prudentia, iudicabis. Et tamen, quod negaveram, commendo tibi eum. Quidquid ei commodaveris, erit id maiorem in modum gratum.

EPISTOLA XVII.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

L Manlius¹ est Sofis, is fuit Catinensis: sed est una cum reliquis Neapolitanis civis Romanus factus, decurioque Neapoli. Erat enim adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem fociis et Latinis datum. Ejus frater Catinae nuper mortuus est. Nullam omnino arbitramur de ea hereditate controversiam eum habiturum: et est hodie in² bonis: sed cum habet praeterea negotia vetera in Sicilia sua, et hanc hereditatem fraternam, et omnia ejus tibi commendo, in primisque ipsum virum optimum, mihi que familiarissimum, his studiis literarum doctrinaeque praeditum, quibus ego maxime delector. Peto igitur abs te, ut eum, five aberit, five non venerit in Siciliam, in meis intimis, maximeque necessariis scias esse: itaque tractes, ut intelligat meam commendationem sibi magno adjumento fuisse.

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EPISTOLA XVIII.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

CAIO Flavio, honesto et ornato equite Romano, utor valde familiariter. Fuit enim generi mei, C. Pisonis, pernecessarius, meque diligentissime observat et ipse, et L. Flavius, frater ejus. Quapropter velim honoris mei causa, quibus rebus honeste, et pro tua dignitate poteris, quam honorificentissime, et quam liberalissime C. Flavium tractes. Id mihi sic erit gratum, ut gratius esse nihil possit. Sed praeterea tibi affirmo, neque id ambitione adductus facio, sed cum familiaritate et necessitudine, tum etiam veritate: te ex C. Flavii officio et observantia, et praeterea splendore, atque inter suos gratia, magnam voluptatem esse capturum.

EPISTOLA XIX.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

IN¹ Halefina civitate, tam lauta, tamque nobili, conjunctissimos habeo et hospitio et familiaritate M. et C. Clodios, Archagathum, et Philonem. Sed vereor, ne, quia complures tibi praecipue commendo, exaequare videar ambitione quadam commendationes meas. Quamquam a te quidem cumulate fatisfit et mihi, et
meis

meis omnibus. Sed velim sic existimes, hanc familiam, et hos mihi maxime esse conjunctos vetustate, officiis, benevolentia. Quamobrem peto a te in majorem modum, ut his, omnibus in rebus, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur, commodes. Id si feceris, erit mihi vehementissime gratum.

EPISTOLA XX.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

CN. Otacilio Nasone utor familiarissime; ita prorsus ut illius ordinis nullo familiarius. Nam et humanitate ejus, et probitate in consuetudine quotidiana magnopere delector. Nihil jam opus est expectare te, quibus eum verbis tibi commendem, quo sic utar, ut scripsi. Habet is in provincia tua negotia, quae procurant liberti, Hilarus, Antigonus, Demonstratus: quos tibi, negotiaque omnia Nasonis non secus commendo, ac si mea essent. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si intellexero hanc commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

EPISTOLA

EPISTOLA XXI.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

AVITUM mihi hospitium est cum Lyfone, Lysonis filio, Lilybetano, valdeque ab eo observor: cognovique dignum et patre, et avo. Est enim nobilissima familia. Quapropter commendo tibi majorem in modum rem domumque ejus: magnoque opere abs te peto, cures, ut is intelligat, meam commendationem maximo sibi apud te et adjumento, et ornamento fuisse. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D..

CAIUS Avianus Philoxenus antiquus est hospes meus, et praeter hospitium, valde etiam familiaris, quem Caesar meo beneficio in Novocomenses retulit. Nomen autem Aviani secutus est, quod homine nullo plus est usus, quam Flacco Aviano, meo, quemadmodum te scire arbitror, familiarissimo. Quae ego omnia collegi, ut intelligeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem hanc meam. Peto igitur abs te, ut omnibus rebus, quod sine molestia tua facere possis, ei commodas, habeasque in numero tuorum: perficiasque ut intelligat, has literas meas
magno

magno sibi usui fuisse. Erit id mihi majorem in modum gratum.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

CUM' Demetrio Mega mihi vetustum hospitium est: familiaritas autem tanta, quanta cum Siculo nullo. Ei Dolabella rogatu meo civitatem a Caesare impetravit: qua in re ego interfui. Itaque nunc P. Cornelius vocatur. Cumque propter quosdam fordidos homines, qui Caesaris beneficia vendebant, tabulam, in qua nomina civitate donatorum incisa essent, revelli jussisset: eidem Dolabellae, me audiente, Caesar dixit, nihil esse quod de Mega vereretur, beneficium suum in eo manere. Hoc te scire volui, ut eum in civium Romanorum numero haberes. Caeterisque in rebus tibi eum ita commendo, ut majore studio neminem commendarim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intelligat meam commendationem magno sibi ornamento fuisse.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

HIPPIAM, Philoxeni filium, Calactinum, hospitem et necessarium meum, tibi commendo in majorem modum. Ejus bona, quemadmodum ad me delata res est, publice possidentur alieno nomine, contra leges Calactinorum. Id si ita est, etiam sine mea commendatione ab aequitate tua res ipsa impetrare debet, ut ei subvenias. Quoquo modo autem se res habet, peto a te ut honoris mei causa eum expedias, tantumque ei commodos et in hac re, et in caeteris, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur. Id mihi vehementer gratum erit.

EPISTOLA XXV.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

LBruttius, eques Romanus, adolescens omnibus rebus ornatus, in meis familiarissimis est, meque observat diligentissime: cujus cum patre magna mihi fuit amicitia jam inde a quaestura mea Siciliensi. Omnino nunc ipse Bruttius Romae mecum est: sed tamen domum ejus, et rem familiarem, et procuratores tibi sic commendo, ut majore studio commendare non possim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut in-

telligat Bruttius, id quod ei recepi, hanc meam commendationem sibi magno adjumento fuisse.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

M.T.C. ACILIO PROC. S.P.D.

CUM familia¹ Titurnia necessitudo mihi intercedit vetus: ex qua reliquus est M. Titurnius Rufus, qui mihi omni diligentia atque officio est tuendus. Est igitur in tua potestate, ut ille in me satis sibi praesidii putet esse. Quapropter eum tibi commendo in majorem modum: et abs te peto, efficias, ut is commendationem hanc intelligat sibi magno adjumento fuisse. Erit mihi vehementer gratum.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

M.T.C. Q. ANCHARIO Q.F. PROC.
S. P. D.

Let C.¹ Aurelios, L. filios, quibus et ipsis, et patre eorum, viro optimo, familiarissime utor, commendo tibi majorem in modum, adolescentes omnibus optimis artibus ornatos, meos pernecessarios, tua amicitia dignissimos. Si ulla mea apud te commendatio valuit, quod² scio multas plurimum valuisset, haec ut valeat rogo. Quod si eos honorifice liberaliterque tractaris: et tibi gratissimos, optimosque adolescentes adjunxeris, et mihi gratissimum feceris. Vale.

E P I S-

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

M.T.C. L. CULLEOLO S.P.D.

QUAE¹ fecisti L. Luceii causa, scire te plane volo, te homini gratissimo commodasse: et cum ipsi, quae fecisti, pergrata sunt, tum Pompeius, quotiescunque me videt, videt autem saepe, gratias tibi agit singulares. Addo etiam illud, quod tibi jucundissimum esse certo scio, me ipsum ex tua erga Luceium benignitate maxima voluptate affici. Quod superest, quanquam mihi non est dubium, quin cum antea nostra causa, nunc jam etiam tuae constantiae gratia, mansurus sis in eadem ista liberalitate: tamen abs te vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut ea quae initio ostendisti, deincepsque² fecisti, ad exitum augeri et cumulari per te velis. Id et Luceio et Pompeio valde gratum fore, teque apud eos praeclare positurum confirmo, et spondeo. De republica deque his negotiis, cogitationibusque nostris perscripseram ad te diligenter paucis ante diebus, easque literas dederam pueris tuis.

EPISTOLA XXIX.

M.T.C. L. CULLEOLO PROC. S.P.D.

Lucceius meus, homo omnium gratissimus, mirificas tibi apud me gratias egit, cum diceret, omnia te cumulatissime et liberalissime procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse. Cum oratio tua tam ei grata fuerit, quam gratam rem ipsam existimas fore, cum, ut spero, quae pollicitus es, feceris? Omnino ostenderunt Bulliones, sese Lucceio Pompeii arbitrato satisfacturos. Sed vehementer opus est nobis, et voluntatem, et auctoritatem, et imperium tuum accedere. Quod ut facias te etiam atque etiam rogo. Illudque mihi gratissimum est, quod ita sciunt Lucceii procuratores, et ita Lucceius ipse ex literis tuis, quas ad eum misisti, intellexit, hominis nullius apud te auctoritatem, aut gratiam valere plus, quam meam. Id ut re experiatur, iterum et saepius te rogo.

EPISTOLA XXX.

M.T.C. QUINTO GALLO S.P.D.

ETSI plurimis rebus spero fore ut perspiciam, quod tamen jampridem perspicio, me a te amari, tamen nunc ea causa tibi datur, in qua facile declarare possis tuam erga me be-

nevo-

nevolentiam. L. Oppius, Marci filius, Philomeli² negotiatur, homo mihi familiaris. Eum tibi unice commendo: eoque magis, quod cum ipsum diligo, tum quod negotia procurat L. Egnatii Rufi: quo ego uno equite Romano familiarissime utor, et qui consuetudine quotidiana, tum officiis plurimis, maximisque mihi conjunctus est. Oppium igitur praesentem ut diligas, Egnatii absentis rem ut tuare, aequae a te peto, ac si mea negotia essent. Velim memoriae tuae causa des literarum aliquid, quae tibi in provincia reddantur: sed ita conscribas, ut tum, cum eas leges, facile recordari possis hujus meae commendationis diligentiam. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA XXXI.

CICERO GALLO S:

ETSI ex tuis, et ex L. Oppii, familiarissimi mei, literis cognovi, te memorem commendationis meae fuisse, idque pro tua summa erga me benevolentia, proque nostra necessitudine minime sum admiratus: tamen etiam atque etiam tibi L. Oppium praesentem, et L. Egnatii, mei familiarissimi, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est, familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis

laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris ut is intelligat me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, vehementer te rogo.

EPISTOLA XXXII.

M.T.C. Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS. S.D.

ETSI non dubito, pro tua in me observantia, proque nostra necessitudine, quin commendationem meam memoria teneas, tamen etiam atque etiam eundem tibi L. Oppium, familiarem meum praesentem, et L. Egnatii, familiarissimi mei absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris ut is intelligat me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, te vehementer rogo.

EPISTOLA XXXIII.

M.T.C. Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS: S.D.

GRATULOR tibi, quod ex provincia saluum te ad tuos recepisti incolumi fama et republica. Quod si Romae fuisssem, te vidissem, coramque gratias egissem, quod tibi L. Egnatius,

natus, familiarissimus meus, absens, L. Oppius praesens, curae fuisset. Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit. Ei te vehementer succensuisse audiui, et moleste tuli. De re nihil possum judicare, nisi illud, mihi certe persuadeo, te, talem virum, nihil temere fecisse. A te autem, pro vetere nostra necessitudine, etiam atque etiam peto, ut ejus filios, qui in tua potestate sunt, mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. Quod ego si arbitrarer, nunquam te rogarem: mihiue tua fama multo antiquior esset, quam illa necessitudo est. Sed mihi ita persuadeo, potest fieri ut fallar, eam rem laudi tibi potius, quam vituperationi fore. Quid fieri posset, et quid mea causa facere possis, nam quin velis non dubito, velim, si tibi grave non erit, certiore me facias.

EPISTOLA XXXIV.

M.T.C. APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI
S.P.D.

L Egnatio¹ uno, equite Romano, vel familiarissime utor. Ejus Anchialum servum negotiaque, quae habet in Asia, tibi commendo non minore studio, quam si rem meam commendarem:

mendarem: Sic enim existimes velim, mihi cum eo non modo quotidianam consuetudinem summam intercedere, sed etiam officia magna, et mutua nostra inter nos esse. Quamobrem etiam atque etiam a te peto, ut cures, ut intelligat me ad te satis diligenter scripsisse. Nam de tua erga me voluntate non dubitabat. Id ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA XXXV.

M.T.C. APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI
S. P. D.

L Nostius Zoilus, est coheres meus: heres autem patroni sui. Ea re utrumque scripsi, ut et mihi cum illo causam amicitiae scires esse, et hominem probum existimares, qui patroni iudicio ornatus esset. Eum tibi igitur sic commendo, ut unum ex nostra domo. Valde mihi gratum erit, si curaris ut intelligat, hanc commendationem sibi apud te magno adjumento fuisse.

EPISTOLA XXXVI.

M.T.C. C. SEXTILIO RUFO, QUEST.
S. P. D.

O MNES tibi commendo Cyprios, sed magis Paphios: quibus tu quaecunque commodaris, erunt mihi gratissima. Eoque facio libentius

bentius, ut eos tibi commendem, quod et tuae laudi, cuius ego fautor sum, conducere arbitror, cum primus² in eam insulam quaestor veneris, ea te instituere, quae sequantur alii : quae, ut spero, facilius consequere, si et P.³ Lentuli, necessarii tui, legem, et ea, quae a me constituta sunt, sequi volueris. Quam rem tibi confido magnae laudi fore.

EPISTOLA XXXVII.

M. CICERO CURIO S. D.

MEMINI¹ cum mihi desipere videbare quod cum istis potius viveres, quam nobiscum. Erat enim multo domicilium huius urbis, cum quidem haec urbs, aptius humanitati et suavitati tuae, quam tota Peloponnesus, nedum Patrae. Nunc contra et vidisse mihi multum videris, cum, prope desperatis his rebus, te in Graeciam contulisti, et hoc tempore non solum sapiens, qui hinc absis, sed etiam beatus. Quanquam quis, qui aliquid sapiat, nunc esse beatus potest ? Sed, quod tu, cui licebat, pedibus es consecutus, ut ibi esses, “ ubi nec² Pelopidarum,” nosti caetera : nos idem propemodum consequimur alia ratione. Cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum : quae fit hoc etiam frequentius, quam solebat, quod, quasi avem albam,

bam, videntur bene sentientem civem videre: abdo me in bibliothecam. Itaque opera efficio tanta, quanta fortasse tu senties. Intellexi enim ex tuo sermone quodam, cum meam moestitiam et desperationem accusares, domi tuae dicere te, ex meis libris animum meum desiderare. Sed mehercule et tum rempublicam lugebam, quae non solum suis erga me, sed etiam meis erga se beneficiis erat mihi carior: et hoc tempore, quanquam me non ratio solum consolatur, quae plurimum debet valere, sed etiam dies, quae stultis quoque mederi solet: tamen doleo, ita rem communem esse dilapsam, ut ne spes quidem, melius aliquando fore, relinquatur. Nec vero nunc quidem culpa in eo est, in cuius potestate omnia sunt, nisi forte id ipsum esse non debuit, sed alia casu, alia etiam nostra culpa sic acciderunt, ut de praeteritis non sit querendum. Reliquam spem nullam video. Quare ad prima redeo. Sapienter haec reliquisti, si consilio: feliciter, si casu.

EPISTOLA XXXVIII.

CURIUS M. CICERONI SUO S.

SI¹ vales, bene est. Sum enim χρήσι μὲν tuus, χρήσι δὲ Attici nostri. Ergo fructus est tuus, mancipium illius: quod quidem si inter² fenes
coem-

coemtionalis vaenale proscripterit, egerit non multum. At illa nostra praedicatio quanti est, nos, quod simus, quod habeamus, quod homines existimemur, id omne abs te habere? Quare, Cicero mi, persevera constanter nos conservare, et Sulpicii successori nos de meliore nota commenda, quo facilius tuis praeceptis obtemperare possimus, teque ad ver lubentes videre, et nostra defigere, deportareque tuto possimus. Sed, amice magne, noli hanc epistolam Attico ostendere: sine eum errare, et putare, me virum bonum esse, nec solere duo parietes de eadem³ fidelia dealbare. Ergo, patrone mi, bene vale, Tironemque meum saluta nostris verbis. Dat. a.d. quatuor Kal. Novemb.

EPISTOLA XXXIX.

CICERO CURIO S.D.

EGO¹ vero jam te nec hortor, nec rogo, ut domum redeas, quin hinc ipse evolare cupio, et aliquo pervenire ubi “nec Pelopidarum nomen, nec facta audiam.” Incredibile est quam turpiter mihi facere videar, qui his rebus interfim. Nae tu videris multo ante providisse, quid impenderet, tum cum hinc profugisti. Quamquam haec etiam auditu acerba sunt, tamen audire tolerabilius est, quam videre. In campo²
certe

certe non fuisti, cum hora secunda, comitiis quaestoriis institutis, sella³ Q. Maximi, quem illi consulem esse dicebant, posita esset: quo mortuo nuntiato, sella sublata est. Ille autem, qui comitiis tributis esset auspicatus, centuriata habuit: Cos. hora septima renuntiavit, qui usque ad kalendas Jan. esset: quae erant futurae mane postridie. Ita Caninio consule scito neminem prandisse. Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit. Haec tibi ridicula videntur. Non enim ades. Quae si videres, lacrymas non teneres. Quid si caetera scribam? sunt enim innumerabilia generis ejusdem: quae quidem ego non ferrem, nisi me in philosophiae portum contulissem, et nisi haberem socium studiorum meorum Atticum nostrum: cujusquum proprium te esse scribis mancipio et nexu, meum autem usu et fructu, contentus isto sum. Id enim est cujusque proprium, quo quisque fruatur atque utitur. Sed haec alias pluribus. Acilius⁴, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est, maximo meo beneficio est. Bis enim est a me judicio capitis, rebus salvis, defensus: et est homo non ingratus, meque vehementer observat. Ad eum de te diligentissime scripsi, eamque epistolam cum hac conjunxi: quam ille quo-

quomodo acceperit, et quid tibi pollicitus sit, velim ad me scribas.

EPISTOLA XL.

CICERO CURIO S.D.

FACILE¹ perspexi ex tuis literis, quod semper studui, et me a te plurimi fieri, et te intelligere quam mihi carus esses. Quod quum uterque nostrum consecutus est, reliquum est, ut officiis certemus inter nos, quibus aequo animo vel vincam te, vel vincar abs te. Acilio non fuisse necesse meas dari literas facile patior. Sulpicii tibi operam intelligo ex tuis literis non multum opus fuisse, propter tuas res ita² contractas, ut, quemadmodum scribis, nec caput, nec pedes. Equidem vellem, uti pedes haberent, ut aliquando redires. Vides enim exaruisse jam veterem urbanitatem: ut Pomponius³ poster suo jure possit dicere, “nisi nos pauci retineamus gloriam antiquam Atticam.” Ergo is tibi, nos ei succedimus. Veni igitur, quaeso, ne tamen semen urbanitatis una cum republica intereat.

EPISTOLA XLI.

CICERO CURIO PROC. S.P.D.

Q Pompeius¹, Sext. filius, multis et veteribus causis necessitudinis mihi conjunctus est. Is, cum antea meis commendationibus et rem, et gratiam, et auctoritatem suam tueri consueverit, nunc profecto, te provinciam obtinente, meis literis assequi debet, ut nemini se intelligat commendatiorem unquam fuisse. Quamobrem a te majorem in modum peto, ut, cum omnes meos aeque ac tuos observare pro nostra necessitudine debeas, hunc in primis ita in tuam fidem recipias, ut ipse intelligat, nullam rem sibi majori usui aut ornamento, quam meam commendationem esse potuisse.

EPISTOLA XLII.

M.T.C. AUCTO PROC. S.D.

SUMSI¹ hoc mihi pro tua in me observantia, quam penitus perspexi, quamdiu Brundisii fuimus, ut ad te familiariter et quasi pro meo jure scriberem, si quae res esset, de qua valde laborarem. M. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, ita mihi familiaris est, ut nihil possit esse conjunctius. Multa illius in me officia, multa in illum mea, quodque maximum est, summus
inter

inter nos amor et mutuus. Quae cum ita sint, si ullam in amicitia² mea spem habes: si ea, quae in me officia et studia Brundisii contulisti, vis mihi etiam gratiora efficere, quanquam sunt gratissima: si me a tuis omnibus amari vides: hoc mihi da atque largire, ut M. Curium, factum et tectum, ut ajunt, ab omnique incommodo, detrimento, molestia sincerum integrumque conserves. Et ipse spondeo, et omnes hoc tibi tui pro me recipient, ex mea amicitia, et ex tuo in me officio maximum te fructum, summamque voluptatem esse capturum.

EPISTOLA XLIII.

M.T.C. P. CAESIO S.D.

P' Messienum, equitem Romanum, omnibus rebus ornatum, meumque perfamiliarem, tibi commendo ea commendatione, quae potest esse diligentissima. Peto a te et pro nostra, et pro paterna amicitia, ut eum in tuam fidem recipias, ejusque rem famamque tueare. Virum bonum, tuaque amicitia dignum tibi adjunxeris, mihi que gratissimum feceris.

EPISTOLA XLIV.

CICERO REGI S.D.

A Licinius Aristoteles¹ Melitenfis, antiquissimus est hospes meus, et praeterea conjunctus magno usu familiaritatis. Haec cum ita sint, non dubito quin tibi satis commendatus sit. Etenim ex multis cognosco, meam commendationem plurimum apud te valere. Hunc ego a Caesare liberavi. Frequens enim fuerat nobiscum, atque etiam diutius in causa est, quam nos, commoratus: quo melius te de eo existimaturum arbitror. Fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intelligat has sibi literas plurimum profuisse.

EPISTOLA XLV.

CICERO THERMO PROPR. S.

L Genucilio¹ Curvo jam pridem utor familiarissime, optimo viro et homine gratissimo. Eum tibi penitus commendo atque trado. Primum, ut omnibus in rebus ei te commodes, quoad fides tua dignitasque patietur: patietur autem in omnibus. Nihil enim abs te unquam, quod sit alienum tuis aut etiam suis moribus, postulabit. Praecipue autem tibi commendo negotia ejus, quae sunt in Hellesponto: primum, ut obtineat id juris in agris, quod ei
Pariana

Pariana² civitas decrevit & dedit, & quod semper obtinuit sine ulla controversia: deinde, si quid habebit cum aliquo Hellespontio controversiae, ut in illam³ διοίκησιν rejicias. Sed non mihi videor, cum tibi totum hominem diligentissime commendarim, singulas ad te ejus causas perscribere debere. Summa illa sit: quidquid officii, beneficii, honoris in Genucilium contuleris, id te existimabo in me ipsum, atque in rem meam contulisse.

EPISTOLA XLVI.

M. T. C. THERMO PROPR. S. D.

CLUVIUS¹ Puteolanus valde me observat, valdeque est mihi familiaris. Is ita tibi persuadet, quod in tua provincia negotii habeat, nisi, te provinciam obtinente, meis commendationibus confecerit, id se in perditis et desperatis habiturum. Nunc cum mihi ab amico officiosissimo tantum oneris imponitur, ego quoque tibi imponam pro tuis in me summis officiis, ita tamen, ut tibi nolim molestus esse. Mylasii et Alabandenses pecuniam Cluvio debent. Dixerat mihi Euthydemus, cum Ephesi essem, se curaturum, ut² eclici Mylasii Romam mitterentur. Id factum non est. Legatos audio missos esse, sed malo eclicos, ut aliquid confici

possit. Quare peto a te, ut et eos, et Alabandenses jubeas eclicos Romam mittere. Praeterea Philotes Alabandensis ³ ὑποθήκας Cluvio dedit. hae ⁴ commissae sunt. Velim cures, ut aut de hypothecis decedat, easque procuratoribus Cluvii tradat, aut pecuniam solvat. Praeterea Heracleotae, et Bargiletae, qui item debent, aut pecuniam solvant, aut fructibus suis satisfaciant. Caunii praeterea debent, sed ajunt se depositam pecuniam habuisse. Id velim cognoscas, et, si intellexeris, eos neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam, ut usurae Cluvio, instituto tuo conserventur. His de rebus eo magis laboro, quod agitur res Cn. Pompeii etiam, nostri necessarii, et quod is magis etiam mihi laborare videtur, quam ipse Cluvius : cui satisfactum esse a nobis valde volo. His de rebus te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XLVII.

M.T.C. THERMO PROP. S.D.

ETSI mihi ¹ videor intellexisse, cum tecum Ephesi de re M. Anneii, legati mei, locutus sum, te ipsius causa vehementer omnia velle, tamen & M. Anneium tanti facio, ut mihi nihil putem praetermittendum, quod illius intersit : et me a te tanti fieri puto, ut non dubitem

bitem quin ad tuam voluntatem magnus cumulus accedat commendationis meae. Nam cum jam diu diligerem M. Anneium, deque eo sic existimarem, ut res declarat, quod ultro ei detulerim² legationem, cum multis petentibus denegassem : tum vero, postea quam mecum in bello atque in re militari fuit, tantam in eo virtutem, prudentiam, fidem, tantamque erga me benevolentiam cognovi, ut hominem neminem pluris faciam. Eum cum Sardianis habere controversiam scis : causam tibi exposuimus Ephesi : quam tu tamen coram facilius meliusque cognosces. De reliquo mihi, mehercule, diu dubium fuit, quid ad te potissimum scriberem. Jus enim quemadmodum dicas, clarum & magna cum tua laude notum est. Nobis autem in hac causa nihil aliud opus est, nisi te jus instituto tuo dicere. Sed tamen cum me non fugiat, quanta sit in praetore auctoritas, praesertim ista integritate, gravitate, clementia, qua te esse inter omnes constat : peto abs te pro nostra conjunctissima necessitudine, plurimisque officiis paribus ac mutuis, ut voluntate, auctoritate, studio tuo perficias, ut M. Anneius intelligat, te et sibi amicum esse, quod non dubitat : saepe enim mecum locutus est, et multo amicio-rem his meis litteris esse factum. In tuo to-

to imperio, atque provincia, nihil est quod mihi gratius facere possis. Jam, apud ipsum gratissimum hominem atque optimum virum, quam bene positurus sis studium tuum atque officium, dubitare te non existimo.

EPISTOLA XLVIII.

M.T.C. THERMO PROPR. S.D.

CUM multa mihi grata sunt, quae tu adductus mea commendatione fecisti, tum in primis, quod M. Marcilium, amici atque interpretis mei filium, liberalissime tractavisti. Venit enim Laodiceam, et tibi apud me, mihi-que propter te gratias maximas egit. Quare, quod reliquum est, a te peto, quum apud gratos homines beneficium ponis, ut eo libentius his commodes, operamque des, quoad fides tua patietur, ut focrus adolescentis rea ne fiat. Ego cum antea studiose commendabam Marcilium, tum multo nunc studiosius, quod in longa apparitione, singularem et prope incredibilem patris Marcilii fidem, abstinentiam, modestiam-que cognovi.

EPISTOLA XLIX.

M.T.C. THERMO PROP. S.D.

QUO magis¹ quotidie ex literis nuntiisque bellum magnum esse in Syria cognosco, eo vehementius a te pro nostra necessitudine contendo, ut mihi M. Anneium legatum primo quoque tempore remittas. Nam ejus opera, consilio, scientia rei militaris, vel maxime intelligo me et remp. adjuvari posse. Quod nisi tanta res ejus ageretur, nec ipse adduci potuisset, ut a me discederet, neque ego, ut eum a me dimitterem. Ego in Ciliciam proficisci cogito circiter Kal. Mai. Ante eam diem Anneius ad me redeat oportet. Illud quod tecum et coram, et per literas diligentissime egi, id et nunc etiam atque etiam rogo, curae tibi sit, ut suum negotium, quod habet cum populo Sardiniano, pro causae veritate et pro sua dignitate conficiat. Intellexi ex tua oratione, cum tecum Ephesi locutus sum, te ipsius M. Anneii causa omnia velle. Sed tamen sic velim existmes, te mihi nihil gratius facere posse, quam si intellexero, per te illum ipsum negotium ex sententia confecisse. Idque quam primum ut efficias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA L.

M. T. C. IMPERATOR Q. THERMO
PROPRAETORI S. D.

OFFICIUM meum erga Rhodonem caeteraque mea studia, quae tibi ac tuis praestiti, tibi homini gratissimo grata esse vehementer gaudeo : mihi que scito in dies majori curae esse dignitatem tuam : quae quidem a te ipso integritate et clementia tua sic amplificata ste, ut nihil addi posse videatur. Sed mihi magis magisque quotidie de rationibus tuis cogitanti placet illud meum consilium, quod initio Aristoni nostro, ut ad me venit, ostendi : graves te suscepturum inimicitias, si adolescens potens et nobilis a te ignominia affectus esset. Et hercle sine dubio erit ignominia : habes enim neminem honoris gradu superiorem. Ille autem, ut omit- tam nobilitatem, hoc ipso vincit viros optimos hominesque innocentissimos, legatos tuos, quod et quaestor est, et quaestor tuus. Nocere tibi iratum neminem posse perspicio : sed tamen tres fratres summo loco natos, promptos, non indifertos, te nolo habere iratos, jure praesertim, quos video deinceps tribunos pl. per triennium fore. Tempora autem reip. qualia futura sint, quis scit ? mihi quidem turbulenta

videntur fore. Cur ego te velim incidere in terrores tribunitios, praesertim cum sine cuiusquam reprehensione quaestoriis legatis quaestorem possis anteferre? Qui si dignum se maioribus suis praeberit, ut spero, et opto, tua laus ex aliqua parte fuerit: sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit. Quae mihi veniebant in mentem, quae ad te pertinere arbitrabar, quod in Ciliciam proficiscebar, existimavi me ad te oportere scribere. Tu quod egeris, id velim dii approbent. Sed, si me audies, vitabis inimicitias, et posteritatis otio consules. Vale.

EPISTOLA LI.

M.T.C. T. TITIO TITI F. LEGATO
S.D.

ET SI¹ non dubito, quin apud te mea commendatio prima satis valeat, tamen obsequor homini familiarissimo, C. Aviano² Flacco: cuius causa omnia cum cupio, tum mehercule etiam debeo. De quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu mihi humanissime respondisti, et scripsi ad te accurate antea: sed putat interesse sua, me ad te quam saepissime scribere. Quare velim mihi ignoscas, si illius voluntati obtemperans, minus videbor meminisse constantiae tuae. A te idem illud peto, ut de loco, quo

deportet frumentum, et de tempore, Aviano commodos : quorum utrumque per eundem me obtinuit triennium, dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit. Summa est, in quo mihi gratissimum facere possis, si curaris, ut Avianus, quum se a me amari putat, me a te amari sciat. Erit id mihi pergratum. Vale.

EPISTOLA LII.

M. CICERO C. TITIO L. F. RUFO,
PR. URBANO S.

L Custidius¹ est tribulis, et municeps, et familiaris meus. Is causam habet, quam causam ad te deferet. Commendo tibi hominem, sicuti tua fides, et meus pudor postulat: tantum ut faciles ad te aditus habeat: quae aequa postulabit, ut libente te impetret: sentiatque meam sibi amicitiam, etiam cum longissime absim, prodesse in primis apud te.

EPISTOLA LIII.

M. T. CICERO TITIO S. D.

ETSI unus¹ ex omnibus minime sum ad te consolandum accommodatus, quod tantum ex tuis molestiis cepi doloris, ut consolatione ipse egerem: tamen cum longius a summi luctus acerbitate meus abesset dolor quam tuus,
statui

statui nostrae necessitudinis esse, meaeque in te benevolentiae, non tacere tanto in tuo moerore tamdiu : sed adhibere aliquam modicam consolationem, quae levare dolorem tuum posset, si minus sanare potuisset. Est autem consolatio pervulgata quidem illa maxime, quam semper in ore atque in animo habere debemus, Homines nos ut esse meminerimus, ea lege natos, ut omnibus telis fortunae proposita sit vita nostra : neque esse recusandum, quominus ea, qua nati sumus, conditione vivamus : neve tam graviter eos casus feramus, quas nullo consilio vitare possimus. Eventisque aliorum memoria repetendis, nihil accidisse nobis novi cogitemus. Neque hae, neque caeterae consolationes, quae sunt a sapientissimis viris usurpatae memoriaeque literis proditae, tantum videntur proficere debere, quantum status ipse nostrae civitatis, et haec prolatio temporum perditorum : cum beatissimi sint, qui liberos non susceperunt ; minus autem miseri, qui his temporibus amiserunt, quam si eosdem, bona aut denique aliqua republica, perdidissent. Quod si tuum te desiderium movet, aut si tuarum rerum cogitatione moeres, non facile exhauriri tibi istum dolorem posse universum puto. Sin illa te res cruciat, quae magis amoris est, ut eorum qui occiderunt miseras lugeas :

geas : ut ea non dicam, quae saepissime et legi et audiui, nihil mali esse in morte, in qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda sit: sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quae non sentiatur: hoc tamen non dubitans confirmare possum, ea misceri, parari, impendere reipublicae, quae qui reliquerit, nullo modo mihi quidem deceptus esse videatur. Quid est enim jam non modo pudori, probitati, virtuti, rectis studiis, bonis artibus, sed omnino libertati ac saluti loci? non, mehercule, quenquam audiui hoc gravissimo et pestilentissimo anno adolescentulum aut puerum mortuum, qui mihi non a diis immortalibus ereptus ex his miseriis atque ex iniquissima conditione vitae videretur. Quare, si tibi unum hoc detrahi potest, nequid iis, quos amasti, mali putes contigisse, permultum erit ex moerore tuo diminutum. Relinquetur enim simplex illa jam cura doloris tui, quae non cum illis communicabitur, sed ad te ipsum proprie referetur: in qua non est jam gravitatis ac sapientiae tuae, quam tu a puero praestitisti, ferre immoderatus casum incommodorum tuorum, qui sit ab eorum, quos dilexeris, miseria maloque sejunctus. Etenim eum semper te et privatis in rebus et publicis praestitisti, tuenda tibi ut sit gravitas et constantiae
servien-

serviendum. Nam quod allatura est ipsa diuturnitas, quae maximos luctus vetustate tollit, id nos praecipere consilio prudentiaque debemus. Etenim si nulla unquam fuit liberis amissis tam imbecillo mulier animo, quae non aliquando lugendi modum fecerit: certe nos, quod est dies allatura, id consilio anteferre debemus: neque expectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus. His ego literis si quid profecissem, existimabam optandum quiddam me esse assecutum: sin minus forte valuissent, officio tamen esse functum benevolentissimi atque amicissimi: quem me tibi et fuisse semper existimes velim, et futurum esse confidas.

EPISTOLA LIV.

M. T. C. C. CURTIO PEDUCAEANO
PRAETORI S. D.

M Fabium¹ unice diligo, summaque mihi cum eo consuetudo et familiaritas est pervetus. In ejus controversiis quid decernas, a te non peto, servabis, ut tua fides et dignitas postulat, edictum, et institutum tuum, sed ut quam facillimos ad te aditus habeat: quae erunt aequa, libente te impetret: ut meam amicitiam sibi, etiam cum procul absum, prodesse sentiat, praesertim apud te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA LV.

[M. T. C. MUNATIO C. F. S. D.]

Livineius¹ Trypho est omnino L. Reguli, familiarissimi mei, libertus, cujus calamitas etiam officiosorem me facit in illum. Nam benevolentior, quam semper fui, esse non possum. Sed ego libertum ejus per se ipsum diligo. Summa enim ejus erga me officia extiterunt his nostris temporibus, quibus facillime bonam benevolentiam hominum et fidem perspicere potui. Eum tibi ita commendo, ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se commendare debent. Pergratum mihi feceris, si ille intellexerit, se, quod pro salute mea multa pericula adierit, saepe hieme summa navigarit, pro tua erga me benevolentia gratum etiam tibi fecisse.

EPISTOLA LVI.

M. T. C. P. SILIO PROPR. S. D.

T Pinnio¹ familiarissime me usum esse, scire te arbitror, quod quidem ille testamento declaravit, qui me cum tutorem, tum etiam secundum heredem instituerit. Ejus filio mire studioso, et erudito, et modesto, pecuniam Nicaenses grandem debent, ad HS octogies: et, ut audio, in primis volunt ei solvere. Pergratum igitur mihi feceris, quando non modo reliqui
tuto-

tutores, qui sciunt quanti me facias, sed etiam puer ipse sibi persuasit, te omnia mea causa facturum esse, si dederis operam, quoad tua fides dignitasque patietur, ut quam plurimum pecuniae Pinnio solvatur Nicaeensium nomine.

EPISTOLA LVII.

M.T.C. SILIO PROPR. S.D.

ET in¹ Atilii negotio te amavi: cum enim fero venissem, tamen honestum equitem Romanum beneficio tuo conservavi: et mehercule semper sic in animo habui, te in meo² aere esse propter Lamiae nostri conjunctionem, et singularem necessitudinem. Itaque primum tibi ago gratias, quod me omni molestia liberas: deinde impudentia prosequor, sed idem sarciam. Te enim semper sic colam, et tuebor, ut quem diligentissime. Quintum fratrem meum, si me diligis, eo numero cura ut habeas, quo me. Ita magnum beneficium tuum magno cumulo auxeris.

EPISTOLA LVIII.

M.T.C. P. SILIO PROPR. S.P.D.

NON¹ putavi fieri posse, ut mihi verba deessent: sed tamen in C. Laenio commendando desunt. Itaque rem tibi exponam paucis verbis, sed tamen ut plane perspicere possis voluntatem

luntatem meam. Incredibile est quanti faciamus et ego, et frater meus, qui mihi carissimus est, M. Laenium. Id fit cum plurimis ejus officiis, tum summa probitate et singulari modestia. Eum ego a me invitissimus dimisi, cum propter familiaritatem et consuetudinis suavitatem, tum quod consilio ejus fideli ac bono libenter utebar. Sed vereor ne jam mihi supereffe verba putes, quae dixeram defutura. Commendo tibi hominem, sicut intelligis me, de quo ea supra scripserim, debere commendare. A teque vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut, quod habet in tua provincia negotii, expedias: quod tibi videbitur rectum esse, ipsi dicas. Hominem facillimum liberalissimumque cognosces. Itaque te rogo, ut eum solutum, liberum, confectis ejus negotiis per te, quam primum ad me remittas. Id mihi fratrique meo gratissimum feceris. Vale.

EPISTOLA LIX.

M.T.C. P. SILIO PROPR. S.D.

NERO' meus mirificas apud me tibi gratias egit, prorsus incredibiles, ut nullum honorem sibi haberi potuisse diceret, qui a te praetermissus esset. Magnum fructum ex ipso capies. Nihil est enim illo adolescente gratius. Sed mehercule mihi quoque gratissimum fecisti. Pluris enim ex omni nobilitate neminem facio.

facio. Itaque, si ea feceris, quae ille per me tecum agi voluit, gratissimum mihi feceris. Primum de Pausania Alabandenſi, ſuſtentes rem, dum Nero veniat. Vehementer ejus cauſa cupere eum intellexi. Itaque hoc valde te rogo. Deinde Nyſaeos, quos Nero in primis habet neceſſarios, diligentiffimeque tuetur ac defendit, habeas tibi commendatiſſimos: ut intelligat illa civitas, ſibi in Neronis patrociniſum ſummum eſſe praefidium. Strabonem Servilium tibi ſaepe commendavi: nunc eo facio id impenſius, quod ejus cauſam Nero ſuſcepit. Tantum a te petimus, ut agas eam rem, ne relinquant hominem innocentem ad aliqujus tui diſſimilis quaefum. Id cum gratum mihi erit, tum etiam exiſtimabo, te humanitate tua eſſe uſum. Summa hujus epiſtolae haec eſt, ut ornes omnibus rebus Neronem, ſicut inſtituiſti atque feciſti. Magnum theatrum habet iſta provincia, non ut haec noſtra, adoleſcentis nobilis, ingenioſi, abſtinentis commendationem atque gloriam. Quare ſi te fautore uſus erit, ſicuti proſecto et utetur, et uſus eſt, ampliſſimas clientelas acceptas a majoribus confirmare poterit, et beneficiis ſuis obligare. Hoc in genere ſi eum adjuveris eo ſtudio, quo oſtendiſti, apud ipſum praeclariffime poſueris: ſed mihi etiam gratiſſimum feceris. Vale.

EPISTOLA LX.

M.T.C. P. SILIO PROPR S.D.

CUM P. Terentio Hispone, qui operas in scriptura pro magistro dat, mihi summa familiaritas consuetudoque est, multaque et magna inter nos officia paria et mutua intercedunt. Ejus summa existimatio agitur in eo, ut pactio- nes cum civitatibus reliquis conficiat. Non me praeterit, nos eam rem Ephefi expertos esse, neque ab Ephefiis ullo modo impetrare potuisse. Sed cum, quemadmodum omnes existimant, et ego intelligo, tua cum summa integritate, tum singulari humanitate et mansuetudine consecutus es, ut libentissimis Graecis, nutu, quod velis, consequare : peto a te in majorem modum, ut honoris mei causa, hac laude Hisponem affici velis. Praeterea cum fociis scripturae mihi summa necessitudo est, non solum ob eam causam, quod ea societas universa in mea fide est, sed etiam quod plerisque fociis utor familiarissime. Ita et Hisponem meum per me ornaris, et societatem mihi conjunctiorem feceris : tuque ipse et ex hujus observantia, gratissimi hominis, et ex sociorum gratia, hominum amplissimorum, maximum fructum capies, et me summo beneficio affeceris. Sic enim velim existimes, ex tota tua
pro-

provincia omnique isto imperio, nihil esse, quod mihi gratius facere possis. Vale.

EPISTOLA LXI.

M. T. C. SILIO S. P. D.

QUID ego tibi commendem eum, quem tu ipse diligis? sed tamen, ut scires eum a me non diligi solum, verum etiam amari, ob eam rem tibi haec scribo. Omnium tuorum officiorum, quae et multa et magna sunt, mihi gratissimum fuerit, si ita tractaris Egnatium, ut sentiat et se a me, et me a te amari. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Illa nostra scilicet ceciderunt. Utamur igitur vulgari consolatione, Quid, si melius hoc? Sed haec coram. Tu fac, quod facis, ut me ames, teque amari a me scias. Vale.

EPISTOLA LXII.

M. T. C. P. SERVILIO ISAVRICO
PROC. COLLEGAE S. D.

GRATAE¹ mihi vehementer tuae literae fuerunt, ex quibus cognovi cursus navigationum tuarum. Significabas enim memoriam tuam nostrae necessitudinis, qua mihi nihil poterat esse jucundius. Quod reliquum est, multo etiam erit gratius, si ad me de republica, id est, de statu provinciae, de institutis tuis familiariter scribes. Quae, quanquam ex multis pro tua claritate audiam, tamen libentissime ex tuis lite-

ris cognoscam. Ego ad te de reipublicae summa quid sentiam, non saepe scribam, propter periculum ejusmodi literarum. Quid agatur autem, scribam saepius. Sperare tamen videor, Caesari, ² collegae nostro, fore curae, et esse, ut habeamus aliquam rempublicam, cujus consiliis magni referebat te interesse. Sed, si tibi utilius est, id est, gloriosius, Asiae praeesse, et istam partem reipublicae male affectam tueri, mihi quoque idem, quod tibi et laudi tuae profuturum est, optatius debet esse. Ego, quae ad tuam dignitatem pertinere arbitrabor, summo studio diligentiaque curabo : in primisque tuebor omni observantia clarissimum virum, patrem tuum : quod et pro vetustate necessitudinis, et pro beneficiis vestris, et pro dignitate ipsius facere debeo.

EPISTOLA LXIII.

M. T. C. P. SERVILIO PROPR. S. D.

EX provincia ¹ mea Ciliciensi, cui scis *τρεῖς διοικήσεις* Asiaticas attributas fuisse, nullo sum familiarius usus, quam Androne, Artemonis filio, Laodicensi : eumque habui in ea civitate cum hospitem, tum vehementer ad meae vitae rationem et consuetudinem accommodatum. Quem quidem multo etiam pluris, posteaquam deceffi, facere coepi, quod multis rebus expertus sum gratum hominem, meique memorem. Ita-
que

que eum Romae libentissime vidi. Non enim te fugit, qui plurimis in ista provincia benigne fecisti, quam multi grati reperiantur. Haec propterea scripsi, ut et me non sine causa laborare intelligeres, et tu ipse eum dignum hospitio tuo judicares. Feceris igitur mihi gratissimum, si ei declararis, quanti me facias; id est, si receperis eum in fidem tuam, et quibuscunque rebus honeste ac sine molestia tua poteris, adjuveris. Hoc mihi erit vehementer gratum: idque ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

EPISTOLA LXIV.

M.T.C. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE S.D.

Curtius ¹ Mithres, est ille quidem, ut scis, libertus Postumi, familiarissimi mei: sed me colit et observat aequae atque illum ipsum patronum suum. Apud eum sic Ephesi fui, quotiescunque fui, tanquam domi meae. Multaque acciderunt, in quibus et benevolentiam ejus erga me experirer, et fidem. Itaque si quid aut mihi, aut meorum cuipiam in Asia opus est, ad hunc scribere consuevi, hujus cum opera et fide, tum domo et re uti, tanquam mea. Haec ad te eo pluribus scripsi, ut intelligeres, me non ² vulgariter, nec ambitiose, sed ut pro homine intimo, ac mihi perneccessario, scribere. Peto igitur a te, ut in ea controversia, quam habet de fundo cum quodam

lophonio, et in caeteris rebus, quantum fides tua patietur, quantumque tuo commodo poteris, tantum et honoris mei causa commodes; etsi, ut ejus modestiam cognovi, gravis tibi nulla in re erit. Si et mea commendatione, et sua probitate affectus erit, uti de se bene existimes, omnia se adeptum arbitrabitur. Ut igitur eum recipias in fidem, habeasque in numero tuorum, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitror, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo.

EPISTOLA LXV.

M.T.C. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE
S. P. D.

QUIA non est obscura tua in me benevolentia, sic fit, ut multi per me tibi velint commendari. Ego autem tribuo nonnunquam in vulgus: sed plerumque necessariis, ut hoc tempore. Nam cum T. Ampio¹ Balbo mihi summa familiaritas necessitudoque est. Ejus libertum, T. Ampium Menandrum, hominem frugi et modestum, et patrono, et nobis vehementer probatum, tibi commendo majorem in modum. Vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si quibuscunque rebus sine tua molestia poteris, ei commodaris. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPIST.

EPISTOLA LXVI.

M.T.C. P.SERVILIO PROPR. S.D.

A. Caecinam, ' maxime proprium clientem
 familiae vestrae, non commendarem
 tibi, cum scirem, qua fide in tuos, qua clemen-
 tia in calamitosos soleres esse : nisi me et patris
 ejus, quo sum familiarissime usus, memoria, et
 hujus fortuna ita moveret, ut hominis omnibus
 mecum studiis officiisque conjunctissimi, mo-
 vere debebat. A te hoc omni contentione peto,
 sic ut majore cura, majore animi labore petere
 non possim, ut ad ea, quae tua sponte sine cu-
 jusquam commendatione faceres in hominem
 tantum et talem calamitosum, aliquem affe-
 rant cumulum meae literae, quo studiosius eum,
 quibuscunque rebus possis, juves. Quod si Ro-
 mae fuisses, etiam salutem A. Caecinae effemus
 (ut opinio mea fert) per te consecuti. De qua
 tamen magnam spem habemus, freti clementia
 collegae tui. Nunc, cum tuam justitiam secu-
 tus, tutissimum sibi portum provinciam istam
 esse duxit, etiam atque etiam te rogo atque oro,
 ut eum et in reliquis veteris negotiationis colli-
 gendis juves, et ceteris rebus tegas atque tueare.
 Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

EPISTOLA LXVII.

M.T.C. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE S. D.

MULTOS tibi commendem necesse est, quando omnibus nota nostra necessitudo est, tuaque erga me benevolentia. Sed tamen etsi omnium causa, quos commendo, velle debeo : tamen cum omnibus non eadem mihi causa est. T. Agusius et comes meus fuit illo miserrimo tempore, et omnium itinerum, navigationum, laborum, periculorum meorum socius : neque hoc tempore discessisset a me, nisi ego ei permissem. Quare sic tibi eum commendo ut unum de meis domesticis, et maxime necessariis. Pergratum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intelligat hanc commendationem sibi magno usui atque adjumento fuisse.

EPISTOLA LXVIII.

M.T.C. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE S. D.

CERELLIAE, necessariae¹ meae, rem, nomina, possessiones Asiaticas commendavi tibi praesens in hortis tuis, quam potui diligentissime : tuque mihi, pro tua consuetudine, proque tuis in me perpetuis maximisque officiis, omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti. Meminisse te id spero : scio enim solere. Sed tamen Cerelliae procuratores scripserunt, te propter magnitudinem provinciae, multitudinemque negotiorum,

gotiorum, etiam atque etiam esse commonefaciendum. Peto igitur, ut memineris te omnia, quae tua fides pateretur, mihi cumulate recepisse. Equidem existimo, habere te magnam facultatem, (sed hoc est tui consilii et iudicii,) ex eo senatusconsulto, quod in heredes C. Vennonii factum est, Cerelliae commodandi. Id senatusconsultum tu interpretabere pro tua sapientia. Scio enim ejus ordinis auctoritatem semper apud te magni fuisse. Quod reliquum est, sic velim existimes, quibuscunque rebus Cerelliae benigne feceris, mihi te gratissimum esse facturum.

EPISTOLA LXIX.

M. T. C. QUATUORVIRIS ET DECURIONIBUS S. D.

TANTAE mihi cum Q. Hippii causae necessitudinis sunt, ut nihil possit esse conjunctius, quam nos inter nos sumus. Quod nisi ita esset, uterer mea consuetudine, ut vobis nulla in re molestus essem : etenim vos mihi optimi testes estis, cum mihi persuasum esset, nihil esse, quod a vobis impetrare non possem, nunquam me tamen gravem vobis esse voluisse : Vehementer igitur vos etiam atque etiam rogo, ut honoris mei causa liberalissime C. Valgium Hippianum tractetis, remque cum eo conficiatis, ut quam possessionem habet in agro Fregelano,

lano, a vobis emtam; eam liberam et immunem habere possit. Id si a vobis impetraro, summo me beneficio vestro affectum arbitrabor.

EPISTOLA LXX.

M.T.C. P. SULPICIO IMP. S.D.

CUM his¹ temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem, tamen, ut tuas literas legi, non existimavi, me salvo jure nostrae veteris² amicitiae, multorumque inter nos officiorum, facere posse, ut honori tuo deessem. Itaque affui, supplicationemque tibi libenter decrevi, nec reliquo tempore ullo aut rei, aut existimationi aut dignitati tuae deero. Atque, hoc ut tui necessarii sci- ant, hoc me animo erga te esse, velim facias eos per literas certiores, ut, si quid tibi opus sit, ne dubitent mihi jure suo denuntiare. M. Bolanum, virum bonum et fortem et omnibus rebus ornatum, meumque veterem amicum, tibi magnopere commendo. Pergratum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intelligat hanc commendationem sibi magno adjumento fuisse. Ipsumque virum optimum gratissimumque cognosces. Promitto tibi, te ex ejus amicitia magnam voluptatem esse capturum. Praeterea a te peto in majorem modum, pro nostra amicitia et pro tuo perpetuo in me studio, ut in hac re etiam elaborēs: Dionysius, servus meus, qui meam bibliothecen multorum
num-

nummorum tractavit, cum multos libros furripuisset, nec se impune laturum putaret, aufugit. Is est in provincia tua. Eum et M. Bolanus, familiaris meus, et multi alii Naronae viderunt. Hunc tu si mihi restituendum curaris, non possum dicere quam mihi gratum futurum sit. Res ipsa parva, sed animi mei dolor magnus est. Ubi sit, et quid fieri possit, Bolanus te docebit. Ego si hominem per te recuperaro, summo me a te beneficio affectum arbitrabor.

EPISTOLA. LXXI.

M.T.C. ALLIENO PROC. S. D.

DEMOCRITUS Sicyonius 'non solum hospes meus est, sed etiam, quod non multis contingit, Graecis praesertim, valde familiaris. Est enim in eo summa probitas, summa virtus, summa in hospites liberalitas et observantia: meque praeter caeteros et colit, et observat, et diligit. Eum tu non modo suorum civium, verum paene Achaiae principem cognosces. Huic ego tantummodo aditum ad tuam cognitionem patefacio et munio. Cognitum per te ipsum, quae tua natura est, dignum tua amicitia atque hospitio judicabis. Peto igitur a te, ut his literis lectis recipias eum in tuam fidem: polliceare omnia te facturum mea causa. De reliquo, si, id quod confido, fore dignum eum tua amicitia

hos-

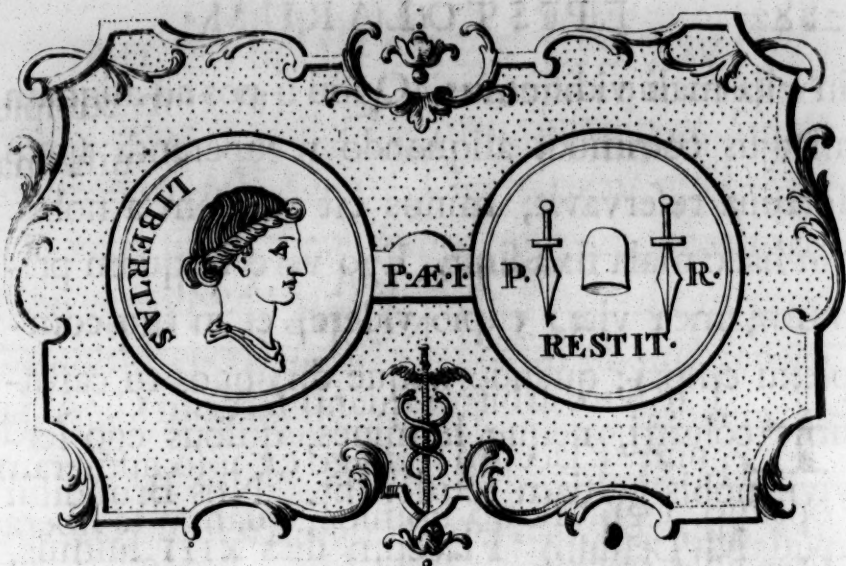
hospitioque cognoveris, peto, ut eum complectare, diligas, in tuis habeas. Erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum. Vale.

EPISTOLA LXXII.

M.T.C. ALLIENO PROC. S.P.D.

ET te scire arbitror quanti fecerim C. 'Avianum Flaccum: et ego ex ipso audieram, optimo et gratissimo homine, quam a te liberaliter esset tractatus. Ejus filios dignissimos illo patre, meosque necessarios, quos ego unice diligo, commendo tibi sic, ut maiore studio nullos commendare possim. C. Avianus in Sicilia est, Marcus est nobiscum. Ut illius dignitatem praesentis ornes, rem utriusque defendas, te rogo. Hoc mihi gratius in ista provincia facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.





M A R C I
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER XIV.

EPISTOLA I.
TULLIUS TERENTIAE, ET TULLIOLAE,
ET CICERONI SUIS S.P.D.

EGO ' minus saepe ad vos do literas quam
possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi
tempora sunt misera, tum vero, cum aut scribo
ad vos, aut vestras lego, conficior lacrymis, sic
ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae
cupidi fuissetus : certe nihil, aut non multum
in

in vita mali vidissemus. Quod si nos ad aliquam alicujus commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis. Sin haec mala fixa sunt. Ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre, et in tuo complexu emori: quando neque dii, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego servivi, nobis gratiam retulerunt. Nos Brundisii apud M. Lenium ² Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum: qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit: neque legis improbißimae poena deductus est, quo minus hospitii et amicitiae jus officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus, habebimus quidem semper. Brundisio profecti sumus a. d. v. Kalendas Maias. Per Macedoniam ³ Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! O afflictum! quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem aegram, et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam. Si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes, et rem adjuves. Sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid de Tulliola mea fiet? jam id vos videre: mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit,

bebit, illius misellae⁴ et matrimonio et famae
serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget?
Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo.
Non queo plura jam scribere : impedit moeror.
Tu quid egeris, nescio : utrum aliquid teneas,
an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. Pisonem, ut
scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De⁵ familia
liberata, nihil est, quod te moveat. Primum, tuis
ita promissum est, te facturam esse ut quisque
esset meritus : est autem in officio adhuc Or-
pheus : praeterea magnopere nemo. Caetero-
rum servorum ea causa est, ut, si res a nobis a-
besset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere potuissent :
sin ; ad nos pertinerent, servirent, praeterquam
oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt. Tu quod
me hortaris ut animo sim magno, et spem ha-
beam recuperandae salutis, id velim sit ejus-
modi, ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc miser
quando tuas jam literas accipiam? quis ad me
perferet? quas ego expectassem Brundisii, si
esset licitum per nautas, qui tempestatem prae-
termittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sus-
tenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes. Honestissime
viximus, floruimus. Non vitium nostrum, sed
virtus nostra nos afflixit. Peccatum est nullum,
nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis
amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius

nos vivere, caetera, quanquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego qui te confirmo, ipse me non possum. Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincet omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis: quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca⁶ dixerat se mecum fore: sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quoad potes, ut valeas: et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria, quam mea commoveri, Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola, et spes reliqua nostra Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias. Brundisio.

EPISTOLA II.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE, ET CICERONI SUIS S.D.

NOLI putare¹ me ad quenquam longiores epistolas scribere, nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit, cui puto rescribi oportere. Nec enim habeo quid scribam, nec hoc tempore quidquam difficilius facio. Ad te vero, et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrymis scribere. Vos enim video esse miserrimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui, idque praestare debui: et, nisi tam timidi fuissetus, praestitisset. Pisonem nostrum merito ejus amo plurimum.

Eum,

Eum, ut potui, per literas cohortatus sum, gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis ²tribunis plebis intelligo spem te habere. Id erit firmum, si Pompeii voluntas erit. Sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video : nec miror : sed moereo casum ejusmodi, ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae sublevantur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quemadmodum a Vestae ³ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea lux meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant ! te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic jacere in lacrymis et fordibus ! idque fieri mea culpa, qui caeteros fervavi, ut nos periremus ! Quod de domo scribis, hoc est, de ⁴area ; ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa nobis erit restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu. Illud doleo, quae impenso facienda est, in ejus partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quod si conficitur negotium, omnia consequemur. Sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera projicies ? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumtum attinet, sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere : et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris.

nos vivere, caetera, quanquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego qui te confirmo, ipse me non possum. Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincet omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis: quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca⁶ dixerat se mecum fore: sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quoad potes, ut valeas: et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria, quam mea commoveri, Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola, et spes reliqua nostra Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias. Brundisio.

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versaris. Omnes labores te excipere video. Timeo, ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Quare, ut id, quod speras et quod agis, consequamur, servi valetudini. Ego ad quos scribam nescio, nisi ad eos, qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos, de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quum ita vobis placet, non discedam: sed velim quam saepissime literas mittatis, praesertim si quid est firmitus, quod speremus. Valete, mea desideria, valete. A. d. III. Nonas Octobr. Thessalonica.

EPISTOLA III.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE SUAE, CICERONI S. D.

ET¹ literis multorum et fermone omnium perfertur ad me, incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse, teque nec animi, nec corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum! te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate, in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse! Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus! Nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam? qui cum² primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriaeque percepit. Quae si, ut tu scribis, fato facta putarem, ferrem paulo facilius: sed omnia sunt mea culpa

culpa commissa, qui ab his me³ amari putabam, qui invidebant : eos non sequebar, qui petebant. Quod si nostris consiliis usi essemus, neque apud nos tantum valuisset sermo aut stultorum amicorum, aut improborum ; beatissimi viveremus. Nunc, quum sperare nos amici jubent, dabo operam, ne mea valetudo tuo labori defit. Res quanta sit, intelligo, quantoque fuerit facilius manere domi, quam redire. Sed tamen, si omnes tribunos plebis habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum, quam videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non est desperandum. De familia, quomodo placuisse amicis scribis, faciemus. De loco nunc quidem jam abiit pestilentia, sed quamdiu fuit, me non attigit. Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum, et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto esse in Epiro, quo neque Hypso⁴ veniret, nec milites : sed adhuc Plancius me retinet. Sperat posse fieri, ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si videro, et si in vestrum complexum venero, ac si et vos, et me ipsum recuperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis, et meae. Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnes nos tantus est, ut nihil supra possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati sit, gloriae quidem video fore. De Q.⁵ fratre nihil ego te ac-

cusavi; sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci sitis, volui esse quam conjunctissimos. Quibus me voluisti agere gratias, egi, et me a te certiore factum esse scripsi. Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis, te vicum venditurum: quid, obsecro te, me miserum, quid futurum est? Et, si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet? Non queo reliqua scribere, tanta vis lacrymarum est, ne te in eundem fletum adducam. Tantum scribo, si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non deerit. Si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas miseras nostras, vide ne puerum perditum perdamus. Cui si aliquid erit, ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est, et mediocri fortuna, ut caetera consequatur. Fac valeas, et ad me tabellarios mittas, ut sciam, quid agatur, et vos quid agatis. Mihi omnino jam brevis expectatio est. Tulliolae et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valete. D.a.d. vi. Kalendas Decembres, Dyrrachii. Dyrrachium veni, quod et libera civitas est, et in me officiosa, et proxima Italiae. Sed si me offendet loci celebritas, alio me conferam, ad te scribam.

EPISTOLA IV.

TULLIUS TERENT. ET TULL. ET
CICERONI SUIS S.D.

ACCEPI¹ ab Aristocrito tres epistolas, quas ego lacrymis prope delevi. Conficior enim moerore, mea Terentia: nec meae me miseriae magis excruciant, quam tuae, vestraeque. Ego autem hoc miserior sum, quam tu, quae es miserrima, quod ipsa calamitas communis est utriusque nostrum, sed culpa mea propria est. Meum fuit officium, vel legatione² vitare periculum, vel diligentia et copiis resistere, vel cadere fortiter. Hoc miserius, turpius, indignius nobis nihil fuit. Quare cum dolore conficiar, tum etiam pudore. Pudet enim me uxori meae optimae, suavissimis liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versatur squalor vester et moeror, et infirmitas valetudinis tuae: spes autem salutis pertenuis ostenditur. Inimici sunt multi, invidi paene omnes. Ejicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est. Sed tamen quamdiu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam, ne omnia mea culpa cecidisse videantur. Ut tuto sim, quod laboras, id mihi nunc facillimum est: quem etiam inimici volunt vivere in his tantis miseriis. Ego tamen fa-

ciam, quae praecipis. Amicis, quibus voluisti, egi gratias, et eas literas Dexippo dedi, meque de eorum officio scripsi a te certiore esse factum. Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos, et officio, et ego perspicio, et omnes praedicant. Dii faxint, ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat. Nunc spes reliqua est in novis tribunis plebis et in primis quidem diebus. Nam si inveterarit, actum est. Ea re ad te statim Aristocritum misi, ut ad me continuo initia rerum, et rationem totius negotii posses scribere: etsi Dexippo quoque ita imperavi, statim ut recurreret: et ad fratrem misi, ut crebro tabellarios mitteret. Nam ego eo nomine sum Dyrrachii hoc tempore, ut quam celerrime, quid agatur, audiam, et sum tuto. Civitas enim haec semper a me defensa est. Cum inimici nostri venire dicentur, tum in Epirum ibo. Quod scribis, te, si velim, ad me venturam: ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo. Si perficitis, quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet. Sin autem. Sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere. Ex primis, aut summum secundis litteris tuis constituere poterimus, quid nobis faciendum sit. Tu modo ad me velim omnia diligentissime perscribas: etsi magis jam rem, quam literas debeo spectare.

spectare. Cura ut valeas, et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius nihil esse, nec unquam fuisse. Vale, mea Terentia, quam ego videre videor : itaque debilitor lacrymis. Vale. Pridie Kalendas Decembr. Dyrrachii.

EPISTOLA V.

M. T. C. TERENTIAE ET TVLL.
SVIS S. P. D.

SI tu et Tullia¹ lux nostra valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus. Pridie Idus Octobres Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi essemus, tardeque et incommode navigassimus. De nave exeuntibus nobis Acastus cum literis praesto fuit uno et vicesimo die, sane strenue. Accepi tuas literas, quibus intellexi te vereri, ne superiores mihi redditae non essent. Omnes sunt redditae, diligentissimeque a te perscripta sunt omnia : idque mihi gratissimum fuit. Neque sum admiratus, hanc epistolam, quam Acastus attulit, brevem fuisse. Jam enim me ipsum expectas, siue nos² ipsos, qui quidem quam primum ad vos venire cupimus : etsi in quam remp. venimus, intelligo. Cognovi enim ex multorum amicorum literis, quas attulit Acastus, ad arma rem spectare : ut mihi, cum venero, dissimulare non liceat, quid sentiam.

Sed quando subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabitur operam, ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. Tu velim, quod commodo valetudinis tuae fiat, quam longissime poteris, obviam nobis properes. De hereditate³ Preciana, quae quidem mihi magno dolori est, valde enim illum amavi, sed hoc velim cures: si auctio ante meum adventum fiet, ut Pomponius, aut, si is minus poterit, Camillus nostrum negotium curet. Nos cum salvi venerimus, reliqua per nos agemus. Sin tu jam Roma profecta eris, tamen curabis, ut hoc ita fiat. Nos, si dii adjuvabunt, circiter Idus Novemb. in Italia speravimus fore. Vos, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia, et Tulliola, si nos amatis, curate ut valeatis. Athenis, a. d. xv. Kalendas Novemb.

EPISTOLA VI.

TVLLIVS TERENTIAE, ET PATER
TVLLIOLAE, DVABVS ANIMIS
SVIS: ET CICERO MATRI OPTI-
MAE, SVAVISS. SORORI S.P.D.

SI vos¹ valetis, nos valemus. Vestrum jam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. Si ille Romam modeste venturus est, recte in praesentia domi esse potestis: sin homo amens diripiendam urbem daturus est, ve-
reor

reor ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit. Etiam illud metuo, ne jam intercludamur, ut, cum velitis exire, non liceat. Reliquum est, quod ipsae optime considerabitis, vestri similes feminae sintne Romae. Si enim non sunt, videndum est, ut honeste vos esse possitis. Quomodo quidem nunc se res habet, modo ut haec vobis loca tenere liceat, bellissime vel mecum, vel in nostris praediis esse poteritis. Etiam illud verendum est, ne brevi tempore fames in urbe sit. His de rebus velim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo, cum quibus vobis videbitur, consideretis. Ad summam, animo forte sitis. Labienus² rem meliorem fecit. Adjuvat etiam³ Piso, quod ab urbe discedit, et sceleris condemnat generum suum. Vos, meae carissimae animae, quam facissime ad me scribite, et vos quid agatis, et quid istic agatur. Quintus pater, et filius, et Rufus vobis salutem dicunt. Valete. VIII. Kal. Quintil. Minturnis.

EPISTOLA VII.

TVLLIVS TERENCEIAE SVAE, ET
PATER SVAVISS. FILIAE TVL-
LIOLAE, CICERO MATRI, ET
SORORI, S.P.D.

Considerandum¹ vobis etiam atque etiam,
animae meae, diligenter puto, quid facia-

tis : Romae ne sitis, an mecum in aliquo tuto loco. Id non solum meum consilium est, sed etiam vestrum. Mihi veniunt in mentem haec : Romae vos esse tuto posse per Dolabellam, eamque rem posse nobis adjumento esse, si quae vis, aut si quae rapinae fieri coeperint. Sed rursus illud me movet, quod video omnes bonos abesse Roma, et eos mulieres suas secum habere. Haec autem regio, in qua ego sum, nostrorum est cum oppidorum, tum etiam praediorum : ut et multum esse mecum, et cum abieritis commode et in nostris esse possitis. Mihi plane non satis constat adhuc, utrum sit melius. Vos videte, quid aliae faciant isto loco feminae, et ne, cum velitis, exire non liceat. Id velim diligenter etiam atque etiam vobiscum et cum amicis consideretis. Domus ut propugnacula et praesidium habeat, Philotimo dicetis. Et velim tabellarios instituat certos, ut quotidie aliquas a vobis literas accipiam. Maxime autem date operam, ut valeatis, si nos vultis valere. ix. Kal. Formiis.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SVAE S.P.D.

OMNES molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te miserrimam habui, id quod mihi molestissimum est, et Tulliolam, quae nobis
nostra

nostra vita dulcior est, deposui, et ejeci. Quid
 causae autem fuerit, postridie intellexi quam a
 vobis discessi. Χολὴν ἀκρατον noctu ejeci. Statim
 ita sum levatus, ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam
 fecisse videatur. Cui quidem tu deo, quemad-
 modum soles, pie et caste satisfacias, id est, A-
 pollini et AEsculapio. Navem spero nos valde
 bonam habere; in eam simulatque conscendi,
 haec scripsi. Deinde conscribam ad nostros fa-
 miliares multas epistolas, quibus te, et Tullio-
 lam nostram diligentissime commendabo. Co-
 hortarer vos, quod animo fortiore essetis, nisi
 vos fortiores cognossem, quam quenquam vi-
 rum. Et tamen ejusmodi spero negotia esse, ut
 et vos istic commodissime sperem esse, et me
 aliquando cum similibus nostri rempub. defen-
 surum. Tu primum valetudinem tuam velim
 cures, deinde, tibi si videbitur, villis iis ute-
 re, quae longissime aberunt a militibus. Fundo
 Arpinati bene poteris uti cum familia urbana,
 si annona carior fuerit. Cicero bellissimus tibi
 salutem plurimam dicit. Etiam atque etiam
 vale. D. III. Idus Junii.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE S.P.D.

SI^r vales, bene est, ego valeo. Valetudinem tuam velim cures diligentissime. Nam mihi et scriptum et nuntiatum est, te in febrim subito incidisse. Quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris literis certiolem, fecisti mihi gratum. Item posthac, si quid opus erit, si quid acciderit novi, facies ut sciam. Cura ut valeas. Vale. D. IV. Nonas Junias.

EPISTOLA X.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.P.D.

SI^r vales, bene est, valeo. Da operam, ut convalescas. Quod opus erit, ut res tempusque postulat, provideas, atque administres: et ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime literas mittas. Vale.

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.P.D.

NEC^r saepe est, cui literas demus; nec rem habemus ullam, quam scribere velimus. Ex tuis literis, quas proxime accepi, cognovi, praedium nullum venire potuisse. Quare videatis velim, quomodo satisfiat ei, cui scitis me satisfieri

tisfieri velle. Quod nostra² tibi gratias agit, id ego non miror te mereri, ut ea tibi merito tuo gratias agere possit. Pollicem, si adhuc non est profectus, quam primum fac extrudas. Cura ut valeas. Idibus Quintil.

EPISTOLA XII.

M.T.C. TERENTIAE S.P.D.

QUOD¹ nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudeas, perpetuo gaudeas velim. Sed perturbati dolore animi, magnisque injuriis, metuo ne id consilii ceperimus, quod non facile explicare possimus. Quare, quantum potes, adjuva. Quid autem possis, mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore, nihil est: et longum est iter, et non tutum: et non video, quid prodesse possis, si veneris. Vale. D. prid. Nonas Novemb. Brundusio.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.T.C. TERENTIAE S.D.

IN maximis¹ meis doloribus excruciat me valetudo Tulliae nostrae. De qua nihil est, quod ad te plura scribam: tibi enim aequae magnae curae esse certo scio. Quod me propius vultis accedere, video ita esse faciendum. Etiam ante fecissem: sed me multa impedierunt, quae
ne

ne nunc quidem expedita sunt. Sed a Pomponio² expecto literas, quas ad me quam primum perferendas cures velim. Da operam ut valeas.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE S.P.D.

AD caeteras¹ meas misérias accessit dolor, et e Dolabellae valetudine, et e Tulliae. Omnino de omnibus rebus nec quid consilii capiam, nec quid faciam scio. Tu velim tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.D.

SV.B.E.V. Si quid haberem, quod ad te scriberem, facerem id et pluribus verbis et saepius. Nunc quae sunt negotia, vides. Ego autem quomodo sim affectus, ex Lepta et Trebatio poteris cognoscere. Tu fac ut tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.P.D.

SI¹ vales, bene est; valeo. Etsi ejusmodi tempora nostra sunt, ut nihil habeam, quod aut a te literarum expectem, aut ipse ad te scribam: tamen nescio quomodo et ipse vestras literas expecto,

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pecto, et scribo ad vos, cum habeo qui ferat. Volumnia debuit in te officiosior esse, quam fuit; et id ipsum, quod fecit, potuit diligentius facere, et cautius: quanquam alia sunt, quae magis curremus, magisque doleamus. Quae me ita conficiunt, ut² ii voluerunt, qui me de mea sententia detruferunt. Cura ut valeas. Pridie Kalend. Januar.

EPISTOLA XVII.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.P.D.

SI vales, bene est, valeo. Tullia¹ nostra venit ad me pridie Idus Junii: cujus summa virtute, et singulari humanitate, graviore etiam sum dolore affectus, nostra factum esse negligentia, ut longe alia in fortuna esset, atque ejus pietas ac dignitas postulabat. Nobis erat in animo Ciceronem² ad Caesarem mittere, et cum eo Cn. Sallustium. Si profectus erit, faciam te certior. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale.
xvii. Kalendas Quintil.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.P.D.

SI vales, bene est. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scripseram, obviam¹ Ciceronem Caesari mittere: sed mutavimus consilium, quia de
illius

illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De caeteris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen quid velimus, et quid hoc tempore putemus opus esse, ex Sica poteris cognoscere. Tulliam² adhuc mecum teneo. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XII. Kalendas Quintil.

EPISTOLA XIX.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE SUAE S.P.D.

QUOD¹ fieri placeret, scripsi ad Pomponium serius, quam oportuit. Cum eo si locuta eris, intelliges quid fieri velim. Apertius scribi, quando ad illum scripseram, necesse non fuit. De ea re, et de caeteris rebus quam primum velim nobis literas mittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. VII. Idus Quintil.

EPISTOLA XX.

M.T.C. TERENCEIAE S.P.D.

QUOD¹ scripsi ad te proximis literis de nuntio remittendo, quae sit istius vis hoc tempore, et quae concitatio multitudinis, ignoreo. Si metuendus iratus est, quies⁴ tamen ab illo fortasse nascetur. Totum judicabis quale sit : et quod in miserrimis rebus minime miserum putabis id facies. Vale. VI. Idus Quintil.

EPISTOLA XXI.

M.T.C. TERENTIAE SUAE S.P.D.

SI vales, bene est, valeo. Nos neque de¹ Caesaris adventu, neque de literis, quas Philotimus habere dicitur, quidquam adhuc certi habemus. Si quid erit certi, faciam te statim certio-
torem. Valetudinem tuam fac ut cures. Vale.
III. Idus Sextiles.

EPISTOLA XXII.

M.T.C. TERENTIAE SUAE S.P.D.

SI vales, bene est, valeo. Redditae mihi tandem sunt a Caesare literae satis liberales: et ipse opinione celerius venturus esse dicitur. Cui utrum obviam procedam, an hic eum expectem, cum constituerò, faciam te certio-
rem. Tabellarios mihi velim quam primum remittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. D. Pridie Idus Sex.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

M.T.C. TERENTIAE SUAE S.P.D.

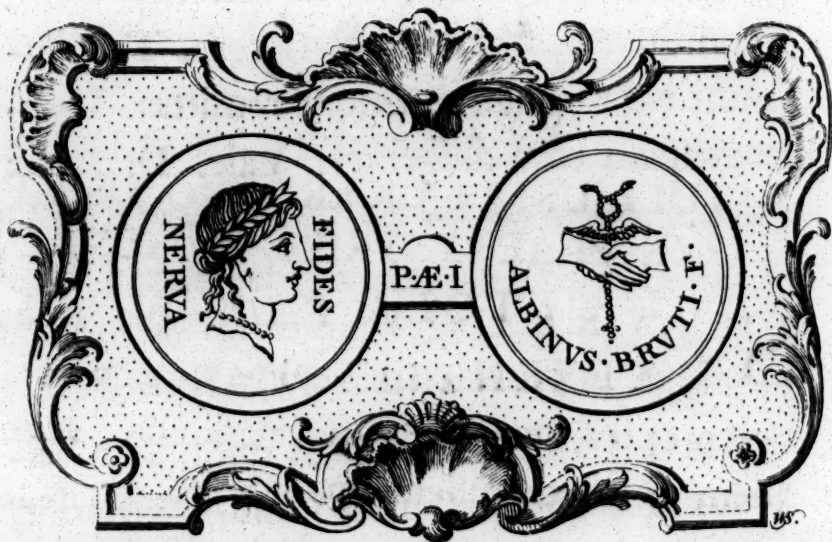
SI vales, bene est, valeo. Nos quotidie tabellarios nostros expectamus: qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores, quid nobis faciendum sit: faciemusque te statim certio-
rem.

nem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Kalendis Septembrib.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

M.T.C. TERENTIAE SUAE S.P.D.

IN Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis, aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt, et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit: item caetera, quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Octobr. de Venusino.





M A R C I
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER XV.

EPISTOLA I.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S.P.D.
COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENAT.

SI V.V.B.E.E.Q.V. Cum pridie ¹ Kalend.
Sext. in provinciam venissem, neque matu-
rius propter itinerum et navigationum difficul-
tatem venire potuissem, maxime convenire offi-
cio meo, reiue publicae conducere putavi, pa-
rare ea, quae ad exercitum, quaeque ad rem mi-
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litarem pertinerent. Quae cum essent a me cura magis et diligentia, quam facultate et copia, constituta, nuntiique et literae de bello a Parthis in provinciam Syriam illato, quotidie fere afferrentur ; iter mihi faciendum per Lycaoniam, et per Isauros, et per Cappadociam arbitratus sum. Erat enim magna suspicio, Parthos si ex Syria egredi, atque irrumperere in meam provinciam conarentur, iter eos per Cappadociam, quod ea maxime pateret, esse facturos. Itaque cum exercitu per Cappadociae partem eam, quae cum Cilicia continens est, iter feci, castraque ad Cybistra, quod oppidum est ad montem Taurum, locavi: ut Artuafdes, rex Armenius, quocunque animo esset, sciret, non procul a suis finibus exercitum populi Romani esse: Deiotarum, fidelissimum regem atque amicissimum reipublicae nostrae, maxime conjunctum haberem, cujus et consilio et opibus adjuvari posset respublica. Quo cum in loco castra haberem, equitatumque in Ciliciam misissem, ut et meus adventus iis civitatibus, quae in ea parte essent, nuntius firmiores animos omnium faceret, et ego mature, quid ageretur in Syria, scire possem,² tempus ejus tridui, quod in his castris morabar, in magno officio, et necessario mihi ponendum putavi. Cum enim vestra auctoritas intercessisset,

fisset, ut ego regem³ Ariobarzanem, Euseben et Philorhomaeum tuerer, ejusque regis salutem, incolumitatem regnumque defenderem, regi regnoque praesidio essem, adjunxissetisque, salutem ejus regis populo senatuique magnae curae esse; quod nullo unquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine: existimavi me iudicium vestrum ad regem deferre debere, eique praesidium meum, et fidem, et diligentiam polliceri: ut, quum salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commendata esset a vobis, diceret, si quid vellet. Quae cum essem in consilio meo cum rege locutus: initio ille orationis suae vobis maximas, ut debuit, deinde etiam mihi gratias egit: quod ei permagnum et perhonorificum videbatur, S. P. Q. R. tantae curae esse salutem suam: meque tantam diligentiam adhibere, ut et mea fides, et commendationis vestrae auctoritas perspici posset. Atque ille primo, quod mihi maximae laetitiae fuit, ita mecum locutus est, ut nullas insidias neque vitae suae, neque regno diceret se aut intelligere fieri, aut etiam suspicari. Cum ego ei gratulatus essem, idque me gaudere dixissem, cohortatus, ut recordaretur casum illum interitus paterni, et vigilanter se tueretur, atque admonitu senatus consulere salutem suam: tum a me discessit in oppidum Cybistra. Postero autem die

cum Ariarathe, fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis, maioribus natu, ad me in castra venit, perturbatusque et flens, cum idem et frater faceret et amici, meam fidem, vestram commendationem implorare coepit. Cum admirarer, quid accidisset novi: dixit, ad se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata, quae essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod ii, qui ea patefacere possent, propter metum reticuisissent: eo autem tempore, spe mei praesidii, complures ea, quae scirent, audacter ad se detulisse: in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate praeditum fratrem dicere ea, quae is, me quoque audiente, dicebat, se sollicitatum esse, ut regnare vellet: id vivo fratre suo accidere non potuisse: se tamen ante illud tempus eam rem nunquam in medium propter periculi metum protulisse. Quae cum esset locutus, monui regem, ut omnem diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet: amicosque patris ejus avique judicio probatos hortatus sum, regis sui vitam, docti casu acerbissimo patris ejus, omni cura custodiaque defenderent. Cum rex a me equitatum cohortesque de exercitu meo postularet, etsi intelligebam, vestro senatusconsulto non modo posse me id facere, sed etiam debere: tamen, cum respublica postularet, propter quotidianos ex Syria nuntios, ut
quam

quam primum exercitum ad Ciliciae fines adducerem; cumque mihi rex, patefactis jam infidiis, non egere exercitu populi Romani, sed posse se suis opibus defendere videretur, illum cohortatus sum, ut in sua vita conservanda primum regnare disceret: a quibus perspexisset sibi infidias paratas, in eos uteretur jure regio: poena afficeret eos, quos necesse esset; reliquos metu liberaret: praesidio exercitus mei ad eorum, qui in culpa essent, timorem potius, quam ad contentionem uteretur. Fore autem ut omnes, quum senatusconsultum nossent, intelligerent, me regi, si opus esset, ex auctoritate vestra praesidio futurum. Ita, confirmato illo, ex eo loco castra movi, iter in Ciliciam facere institui: cum hac opinione e Cappadocia discederem, ut consilio vestro, casu incredibili ac paene divino, regem, quem vos honorificentissime appellassetis, nullo postulante, quemque meae fidei commendassetis, et cujus salutem magnae vobis curae esse decrevissetis, meus adventus praesentibus infidiis liberaret. Quod ad vos a me scribi non alienum putavi, ut intelligeretis ex iis, quae paene acciderunt, vos multo ante, ne ea acciderent, providisse: eoque vos studiosius feci certiores, quod in rege Ariobarzane ea mihi signa videor virtutis, ingenii, fidei benevolentiaeque

erga vos perspexisse, ut non sine causa tantam curam diligentiamque in ejus vos salutem videamini contulisse.

EPISTOLA II.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S. P. D.
COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENATUI.

S V. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Etsi¹ non dubie mihi nuntiabatur, Parthos transisse Euphraten cum omnibus fere suis copiis: tamen, quod arbitrabar a M. Bibulo proconsule certiora de his rebus ad vos scribi posse, statuebam mihi non necesse esse publice scribere ea, quae de alterius provincia nuntiarentur. Postea vero quam certissimis auctoribus, legatis, nuntiis, literis sum certior factus: vel quod tanta res erat, vel quod nondum audieramus Bibulum in Syriam venisse: vel quia administratio hujus belli mihi cum Bibulo paene est communis: quae ad me delata essent, scribenda ad vos putavi. Regis Antiochi Commageni legati primi nuntiarunt, Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem transire coepisse. Quo nuntio allato, cum essent nonnulli, qui ei regi minorem fidem habendam putarent, statui expectandum esse, si quid certius afferretur. A. d. XIII. ² Kalendas Octobr. cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lycaoniae

niae et Cappadociae mihi literae sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius³ trans Taurum, amicissimusque populi Romani existimatur: Pacorum Orodi, regis Parthorum, filium, cum permagno equitatu Parthico transisse Euphratem, et castra posuisse⁴ Tybae: magnumque tumultum esse in provincia Syria excitatum. Eodem die ab Iamblichō, Phylarcho⁵ Arabum, quem homines opinantur bene sentire, amicumque esse reipublicae nostrae, literae de eisdem rebus mihi redditae sunt. His rebus allatis, etsi intelligebam socios infirme animatos esse, et novarum rerum expectatione suspensos, sperabam tamen eos, ad quos jam accesseram, quique nostram consuetudinem integritatemque perspexerant, amiciores populo Romano esse factos: Ciliciam autem firmiorem fore, si aequitatis nostrae particeps facta esset. Et ob eam causam, et ut opprimerentur ii, qui ex Cilicum gente in armis essent, et ut hostis is, qui esset in Syria, sciret, exercitum populi Romani non modo non cedere his nuntiis allatis, sed etiam propius accedere, exercitum ad⁶ Taurum institui ducere. Sed, si quid apud vos auctoritas mea ponderis habet, in iis praesertim rebus, quas vos audistis, ego paene cerno, magno opere vos et hortor, et moneo, ut his provinciis serius vos quidem quam decuit,

sed aliquando tamen consulatis. Nos quemadmodum instructos, et quibus praesidiis munitos ad tanti belli opinionem miseritis, non estis ignari. Quod ego negotium non stultitia obcaecatus, sed verecundia deterritus, non recusavi. Neque enim unquam ullum periculum tantum putavi, quod subterfugere malletm, quam vestrae auctoritati obtemperare. Hoc autem tempore res sese sic habet, ut nisi exercitum tantum, quantum ad maximum bellum mittere soletis, mature in has provincias miseritis, summum periculum sit, ne amittendae sint omnes hae provinciae, quibus vectigalia populi Romani continentur. Quamobrem autem in hoc provinciali delectu spem habeatis aliquam, causa nulla est: neque multi sunt, et diffugiunt, qui sunt, metu oblato. Et, quod genus hoc militum sit, iudicavit vir fortissimus M. Bibulus in Asia: qui, cum vos ei permisistis, delectum habere noluerit. Nam fociorum auxilia propter acerbitatem atque injurias imperii nostri, aut ita imbecilla sunt, ut non multum nos juvare possint, aut ita alienata a nobis, ut neque expectandum ab iis, neque committendum iis quidquam esse videatur. Regis Deiotari et voluntatem et copias, quantaecunque sunt, nostras esse duco. Cappadocia est inanis. Reliqui reges tyrannique neque opibus
fatis

fatis firmi, nec voluntate sunt. Mihi in hac paucitate militum animus certe non deerit: spero ne consilium quidem. Quid casurum sit incertum est. Utinam salutis nostrae consulere possimus; dignitati certe consulemus.

EPISTOLA III.

MARCUS CICERO M. CATONI S. D.

CUM ¹ ad me legati, missi ab Antiocho Commageno, venissent in castra ad Iconium ² a. d. III. Non. Septembr. iique mihi nuntiaissent, regis Parthorum filium, quo cum esset nupta regis Armeniorum soror, ad Euphraten cum maximis Parthorum copiis, multarumque praeterea gentium magna manu venisse, Euphratenque jam transire coepisse: dicique Armenium regem in Cappadociam impetum esse facturum: putavi, pro nostra necessitudine, me hoc ad te scribere oportere. Publice propter duas causas nihil scripsi: quod et ipsum Commagenum legati dicebant ad senatum statim nuntios literasque misisse: et existimabam M. Bibulum proconsulem, qui circiter Idus Sextilis ab Epheso in Syriam navibus profectus erat, quod secundos ventos habuisset, jam in provinciam suam pervenisse: cuius literis omnia certiora perlatum iri ad senatum putabam;

tabam. Mihi, ut in huiusmodi re tantoque bello, maximae curae est, ut quae copiis et ³ opibus tenere vix possumus, ea mansuetudine et continentia nostra, fociorum fidelitate teneamus. Tu velim, ut consuesti, nos absentes diligas et defendas.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. IMP. M. CATONI S.D.

SUMMA ¹ tua auctoritas fecit, meumque perpetuum de tua singulari virtute iudicium, ut magni mea interesse putarem, et res eas, quas gessissem tibi notas esse, et non ignorari a te, qua aequitate et continentia tuerer focios, provinciamque administrarem. His enim a te cognitis, arbitrabar, facilius me tibi quae vellem probaturum. Cum in provinciam pridie Kal. Sext. venissem, et propter anni tempus ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundum viderem, biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quatrimum, triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli. Quibus in oppidis cum magni conventus fuissent, multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi. Cumque ante adventum meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus, quinque cohortes sine legato, sine tribuno militum, denique etiam sine
cen-

centurione ullo apud Philomelum confedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia, M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes ad reliquum exercitum duceret, coactoque in unum locum exercitu, castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium faceret. Quod cum ab illo diligenter esset actum, ego in castra a. d. vii. Kal. Septemb. veni : cum interea superioribus diebus ex senatusconsulto, et evocatorum firmam manum, et equitatum sane idoneum, et populorum liberorum regumque sociorum auxilia voluntaria comparavissem. Interim cum, exercitu lustrato, iter in Ciliciam facere coepissem Kal. Septemb. legati a rege Commageno ad me missi, pertumultuose, neque tamen non vere, Parthos in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt. Quo audito, vehementer sum commotus cum de Syria, tum de mea provincia, de reliqua denique Asia. Itaque exercitum mihi ducendum per Cappadociae regionem eam, quae Ciliciam attingeret, putavi. Nam si me in Ciliciam demissem, Ciliciam quidem ipsam propter montis Amani naturam facile tenuissem : Duo sunt enim aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria, quorum uterque parvis praefidiis propter angustias intercludi potest, nec est quidquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius : sed me Cappadocia movebat : quae patet a Syria,

ria, regesque habet finitimos, qui etiam si sunt amici nobis, tamen aperte Parthis inimici esse non audent. Itaque in Cappadocia extrema non longe a Tauro apud oppidum Cybistra castra feci, ut et Ciliciam tuerer, et Cappadociam tenens, nova finitimorum consilia impedirem. Interea in hoc tanto motu, tantaque expectatione maximi belli, rex Deiotarus, cui non sine causa plurimum semper et meo, et tuo, et senatus iudicio tributum est, vir cum benevolentia et fide erga populum Romanum singulari, tum ² praesentia, magnitudine et animi et consilii, legatos ad me misit, se cum omnibus suis copiis in mea castra esse venturum. Cujus ego studio officioque commotus, egi ei per literas gratias, idque ut maturaret hortatus sum. Cum autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus, regem Ariobarzanem, cujus salutem a senatu, te auctore, commendatam habebam, praesentibus insidiis nec opinantem liberavi: neque solum ei saluti fui, sed etiam curavi, ut cum auctoritate regnaret. Metram, et eum, quem tu diligenter mihi commendaras, Athenaeum, importunitate Athenaidis exilio multatos, maxima apud regem auctoritate gratiaque constitui. Cumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos

³ armis

³ armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet, adolescens et equitatu, et peditatu, et pecunia paratus, et toto iis, qui novari aliquid volebant: perfecti ut e regno ille discederet, rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulae communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Interea cognovi multorum literis atque nuntiis, magnas Parthorum copias et Arabum ad oppidum Antiocheam accessisse, magnumque eorum equitatum, qui in Ciliciam transisset, ab equitum meorum turmis et a cohorte praetoria, quae erat Epiphaneae praesidii causa, occisione occisum. Quare cum viderem a Cappadocia Parthorum copias averfas, non longe a finibus esse Ciliciae, quam potui maximis itineribus ad Amanum exercitum duxi. Quo ut veni, hostem ab Antiochea recessisse, Bibulum Antiocheae esse cognovi: Deiotarumque confestim jam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu, et cum omnibus suis copiis, certiolem feci, non videri esse causam, cur abesset a regno: meque ad eum, si quid novi forte accidisset, statim literas nuntiosque missurum esse. Cumque eo animo venissem, ut utrique provinciae, si ita tempus ferret, subvenirem: tum id, quod jam ante statueram, vehementer interesse utriusque

usque provinciae, pacare Amanum, et perpetuum hostem ex eo monte tollere, agere perrexī. Cumque me discedere ab eo monte simulassem, et alias partes Ciliciae petere, abessemque ab Amano iter unius diei, et castra apud Epiphaneam fecissem, a. d. quartum idus Octobres, cum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad tertium Idus Octobres, cum lucefieret, in Amanum ascenderem: distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Q. Frater legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pontinius legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tulleius legati praeesent: plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus, qui occisi captique sunt interclusi fuga. Eranam autem, quae fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput, itemque Sepyram et Commorin, acriter et diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore, usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepimus: castellaque sex capta: complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quatrimum: et in reliquiis Amani delendis agrisque vastandis, quae pars ejus montis meae provinciae est, id tempus omne consumimus. Confectis his rebus, ad oppidum Eleutherocilicū

cum Pindenissum exercitum adduxi : quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur qui ne regibus quidem unquam paruissent : cum et fugitivos reciperent, et Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent : ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam, quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Vallo et fossa circumdedi, sex castellis castrisque maximis sepsi ; aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo, sine ulla molestia sumtuve sociorum, septimo quinquagesimo die rem confeci : ut omnibus partibus urbis disturbatis, aut incensis, compulsi in potestatem meam pervenirent. His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia Tibarani : ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. Fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Nunc velim tibi sic persuadeas, si de his rebus ad senatum relatum sit, me existimaturum, summam mihi laudem tributam, si tu honorem meum sententia tua comprobabis. Idque, etsi talibus de rebus gravissimos homines et rogare solere et rogari scio, tamen admonendum potius te a me, quam rogandum

gandum puto. Tu es enim is, qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornaſti: qui oratione, qui praedicatione, qui ſummis laudibus in ſenatu, in concionibus ad coelum extuliſti: cujus ego ſemper tanta eſſe verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo cum mea laude conjuncto, omnia adſequi me arbitrarer. Te denique memini, cum cuidam clariffimo ⁴ atque optimo viro ſupplicationem non decerneres, dicere, te decreturum, ſi referretur ob eas res, quas is conſul in urbe geſiſſet. Tu idem mihi ſupplicationem decreviſti togato, non ut multis, republica bene geſta, ſed, ut nemini, republica conſervata. Mitto, quod invidiam, quod pericula, quod omnes meas tempeſtates et ſubieris, et multo etiam magis, ſi per me licuiſſet, ſubire paratiſſimus fueris: quod denique inimicum meum, tuum inimicum putaris: cujus etiam interitum, ut facile intelligerem, mihi quantum tribueres, Milonis cauſa in ſenatu defendenda approbaris. A me autem haec ſunt proſecta, quae ego in beneficii loco non pono, ſed in veri teſtimonii atque judiciij, ut praeſtantiffimas tuas virtutes non tacitus admirarer, quis enim idem non facit? ſed in omnibus orationibus, ſententiis dicendis, cauſis agendis, omnibus ſcriptis, Graecis, Latinis, omni denique varietate literarum mearum, te non
modo

modo iis, quos vidissemus, sed iis, de quibus audissemus, omnibus anteferrem. Quaeres fortasse, quid sit, quod ego hoc nescio quid gratulationis et honoris a senatu tanti aestimem. Agam jam tecum familiariter, ut est et studiis, et officiis nostris mutuis, et summa amicitia dignum, et necessitudine etiam paterna. Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus et natura, et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Testis est consilatus meus: in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset: ipsam quidem gloriam per se nunquam putavi expetendam. Itaque et⁵ provinciam ornatam, et spem non dubiam triumphi, neglexi. Sacerdotium denique, cum, quemadmodum te existimare arbitror, non difficillime consequi possem, non appetivi. Idem, post injuriam acceptam, quam tu reipublicae calamitatem semper appellas, meam non modo non calamitatem, sed etiam gloriam, studui quam ornatissima senatus populi que Romani de me iudicia intercedere. Itaque et augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram: et eum honorem, qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum a me olim, nunc mihi expetendum puto.

Huic meae voluntati, in qua inest aliqua vis desiderii, ad sanandum vulnus injuriae, ut fa-
veas, adjutorque sis, quod paulo ante me nega-
ram rogaturum, vehementer te rogo: sed ita,
si non jejunum hoc nescio quid, quod ego gessi,
et contemnendum videbitur, sed tale atque tan-
tum, ut multi nequaquam paribus rebus hono-
res summos a senatu consecuti sint. Equidem
etiam mihi illud animadvertisse videor, scis
enim quam attente te audire soleam, te non tam
res gestas, quam mores, instituta atque vitam
imperatorum spectare solere, in habendis, aut
non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea causa
considerabis, reperies, me exercitu imbecillo con-
tra metum maximi belli firmissimum praesidium
habuisse, aequitatem et continentiam. His ego
subsidiis ea sum consecutus, quae nullis legio-
nibus consequi potuissem: ut ex alienissimis so-
ciis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos
redderem, animosque novarum rerum expecta-
tione suspensos ad veteris imperii benevolentiam
traducerem. Sed nimis haec multa de me, prae-
fertim ad te, a quo uno omnium sociorum que-
relae audiuntur. Cognosces ex iis, qui meis in-
stitutis se recreatos putant. Cumque omnes uno
prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi
optatissima sunt, praedicabunt: tum duae ma-
ximae

ximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula, et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur: puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Quae si etiam majora sunt, et in omnibus saeculis pauciores viri reperti sunt, qui suas cupiditates, quam qui hostium copias vincerent: est profecto tuum, cum ad res bellicas haec, quae rariora et difficiliora sunt, genera virtutis adjunxeris, ipsas etiam illas res gestas justiores esse et majores putare. Extremum illud est, ut, quasi diffidens rogationi meae, philosophiam ad te allegem: qua nec mihi carior ulla unquam res in vita fuit, nec hominum generi majus a diis munus ullum est datum. Haec igitur, quae mihi tecum communis est, societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti, soli propemodum nos philosophiam illam veram et antiquam, quae quibusdam otii esse ac desidia videtur, in forum atque in rempublicam atque in ipsam aciem pene deduximus, tecum agit de mea laude; cui negari a Catone fas esse non puto. Quamobrem tibi sic persuadeas velim: si mihi tua sententia tributus honos ex meis literis fuerit, me sic existimaturum, cum auctoritate tua, tum benevolentia erga me, mihi, quod maxime cupierim, contigisse. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M. CATO M.T.C. IMP. S.P.D

QUOD¹ et respublica me, et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam, cognitam in maximis rebus, domi togati, armati foris, pari industria² administrare gaudeam. Itaque, quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem, sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito, sed summa tua ratione et continentia reipublicae provisum est, diis immortalibus gratulari nos, quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam³ putas supplicationem, et idcirco casum potius, quam te laudari mavis: neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus, et triumpho multo clarius est, senatum iudicare, potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam, quam vi militum, aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam esse: quod ego mea sententia censebam. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi, ut, quod
maxime

maxime volo, existimes me laborare, ut tibi persuadeam, me et voluisse de tua maiestate, quod amplissimum sim arbitratus: et quod tu maluisti, factum esse gaudere. Vale, et nos dilige, et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque fociis, et reipublicae praesta.

EPISTOLA VI.

M.T.C. M. CATONI S.P.D.

“**L**AETUS¹ sum laudari me,” inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium, “abs te, pater, a laudato viro.” Ea est enim profecto jucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum, vel testimoniis sententiae dictae, nihil est, quod me non affecutum putem. Idque mihi cum amplissimum, tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse, quod liquido veritati dares. Et, si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum, aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum, et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium, nihil potest esse laudabilius, quam ea tua oratio, quae est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui

tibi superioribus literis: quae etiam si parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem, illum ordinem, pro meis ob rempublicam susceptis laboribus, me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, cum tuo iudicio, quod amplissimum esse arbitraris, mihi tribueris, si id, quod maluero accidit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te, et sensisse, et verius scripsisse video; resque ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse, quod scribendo affuisti. Haec enim senatusconsulta non ignoro ab amicissimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo, atque utinam republica meliore, quam timeo.

EPISTOLA VII.

M. T. C. PROCOS. C. MARCELLO
COS. DESIGN. S. P. D.

MAXIMA¹ sum laetitia affectus, cum audiui te consulem factum esse: eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo, atque a te pro tua parentisque tui dignitate administrari. Nam cum te semper amavi dilexique, tum mei amantissimum

tiffimum cognovi in omni varietate rerum mearum : tum patris tui pluribus beneficiis, vel defensus tristibus temporibus, vel ornatus secundis : et sum totus vester, et esse debeo : cum praesertim matris tuae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, majora erga salutem dignitatemque meam studia, quam erant a muliere postulanda, perspexerim. Quapropter a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me absentem diligas atque defendas.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. PROC: C. MARCELLO COL-
LEGAE S.P.D.

MARCELLUM¹ tuum, consulem factum, teque ea laetitia affectum esse, quam maxime optasti, mirandum in modum gaudeo : idque cum ipsius causa, tum quod te omnibus secundissimis rebus dignissimum judico : cuius erga me singularem benevolentiam vel in labore meo, vel in honore perspexi : totam denique domum vestram vel salutis, vel dignitatis meae studiosissimam cupidissimamque cognovi. Quare gratum mihi feceris, si uxori tuae Juniae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, meis verbis eris gratulatus. A te id, quod fuesti, peto, me absentem diligas atque defendas.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. IMP. C. MARCELLO C. F.
COS. S. P. D.

QUANDO id accidit, quod mihi maxime fuit optatum, ut omnium Marcellorum, Marcellinorum etiam, mirificus enim generis ac nominis vestri fuit erga me semper animus, cum ergo ita accidit, ut omnium vestrum studio tuus consulatus satisfacere posset, in quem meae res gestae, lausque et honos earum potissimum incideret: peto a te id, quod facillimum factu est, non aspernante, ut confido, senatu, ut quam honorificentissimum senatusconsultum, literis meis recitatis, faciendum cures. Si mihi tecum minus esset, quam est cum tuis omnibus, allegarem ad te illos, a quibus intelligis me praecipue diligere. Patris tui beneficia in me sunt amplissima. Neque enim salutis meae, neque honori amicior quisquam dici potest. Frater tuus quanti me faciat, semperque fecerit, esse hominem qui ignoret arbitror neminem. Domus tua denique tota me semper omnibus summis officiis profecuta est. Neque vero tu in me diligendo cuiquam concessisti tuorum. Quare a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me per te quam ornatissimum velis esse: meamque et in supplicatione

catione decernenda, et in caeteris rebus existimationem satis tibi esse commendatam putes.

EPISTOLA X.

M. T. C. IMP. C. MARCELLO COS.

S. P. D.

QUANTAE curae tibi meus honos fuerit, et quam idem extiteris consul in ornando et amplificando, qui fueras semper cum parentibus tuis et cum tota domo, etsi res ipsa loquebatur, cognovi tamen ex meorum omnium literis. Itaque nihil est tantum, quod ego non tua causa debeam, facturumque sim cum studiose ac libenter. Nam magni interest, cui debeas. Debere autem nemini malui, quam tibi : cui me cum studia communia, beneficia paterna, tuaque jam ante conjunxerant : tum accedit, mea quidem sententia, maximum vinculum, quod ita rempublicam geris, atque gessisti, qua mihi carius nihil est, ut, quantum tibi omnes boni debeant, quo minus tantundem ego unus debeam, non recusem. Quamobrem tibi velim hi sint exitus quos mereris, et quos fore confido. Ego, si me navigatio non morabitur, quae incurrebat in ipsos Etesias, propediem te, ut spero, videbo.

EPI S-

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. IMP. L. PAULO COS.
DESIGN. S.P.D.

ETSI^r mihi nunquam fuit dubium quin te populus R. pro tuis summis in rempublicam meritis, et pro amplissima familiae dignitate, summo studio, cunctis suffragiis consulem facturus esset : tamen incredibili laetitia sum affectus, cum id mihi nunciatum est : eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo, a teque ex tua majorumque tuorum dignitate administrari. Atque utinam praesens illum diem mihi optatissimum videre potuissem, proque tuis amplissimis erga me studiis atque beneficiis tibi operam meam studiumque navare. Quam mihi facultatem cum hic nec opinatus et improvisus provinciae casus eripuit, tamen, ut te consulem rempublicam pro tua dignitate gerentem videre possim, magnopere a te peto, ut operam des, efficias, nequid mihi fiat injuriae, neve quid temporis ad meum annum munus accedat. Quod si feceris, magnus ad tua pristina erga me studia cumulus accedet. Vale.

E P I S-

EPISTOLA XII.

M. T. C. IMP. L. PAULO COS. S. P. D.

MAXIME mihi fuit optatum Romae esse tecum, multas ob causas, sed praecipue, ut in petendo et in gerendo consulatu meum tibi debitum studium perspicere posses. Ac petitionis quidem tuae ratio mihi semper fuit explorata: sed tamen navare operam volebam. In consulatu vero cupio equidem te minus habere negotii: sed moleste fero, me consulem studium tuum adolescentis perspexisse, te meum, cum id aetatis sum, perspicere non posse. Sed ita fato nescio quo contigisse arbitror, ut tibi ad me ornandum semper detur facultas, mihi ad remunerandum nihil suppetat praeter voluntatem. Ornasti consulatum, ornasti reditum meum. Incidit meum tempus rerum gerendarum in ipsum consulatum tuum. Itaque cum et tua summa amplitudo et dignitas, et meus magnus honos magnaque existimatio postulare videatur, ut a te plurimis verbis contendam ac petam, ut quam honorificentissimum senatus-consultum de meis rebus gestis faciendum cures, non audeo vehementer a te contendere, ne aut ipse tuae perpetuae consuetudinis erga me oblitus esse videar, aut te oblitum putem. Quare, ut te velle arbitror,

tror, ita faciam : atque ab eo, quem omnes gentes sciunt de me optime meritum, breviter petam. Si alii consules essent, ad te potissimum, Paule, mitterem, ut eos mihi quam amicissimos redderes : nunc cum tua summa potestas, summaque auctoritas, notaque omnibus nostra necessitudo sit, vehementer te rogo, ut et quam honorificentissime cures decernendum de meis rebus gestis, et quam celerrime. Dignas res esse honore et gratulatione cognosces ex iis literis, quas ad te, et collegam, et senatum publice misi : omniumque mearum reliquarum rerum, maximeque existimationis meae procurationem susceptam velim habeas. In primisque tibi curae fit, quod abs te superioribus quoque literis petivi, ne mihi tempus prorogetur. Cupio te consulem videre omniaque spero, cum absens, tum etiam praesens, te consule, assequi.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.T.C. TREBONIO S.P.D.

ET¹ epistolam tuam legi libenter, et librum libentissime : sed tamen in ea voluptate hunc accepi dolorem, quod cum incendisses cupiditatem meam consuetudinis augendae nostrae, nam ad amorem quidem nihil poterat accedere, tum² discedis a nobis, meque
tanto

tanto desiderio afficis, ut unam mihi consolationem relinquas, fore, ut utriusque nostrum absentis desiderium crebris et longis epistolis leniatur. Quod ego non modo de me tibi spondere possum, sed de te etiam mihi. Nullam enim apud me reliquisti dubitationem, quantum me amares. Nam, ut illa omittam, quae civitate teste fecisti, cum mecum inimicitias³ communicasti, cum me concionibus tuis defendisti, cum quaestor in mea atque in publica causa consulum partes suscepisti, cum tribuno pleb. quaestor non paruisti, cui tuus praesertim collega pareret: ut haec⁴ recentia, quae meminero semper, obliviscar, quae tua sollicitudo de me in armis, quae laetitia in reditu, quae cura, qui dolor, cum ad te curae et dolores mei perferrentur; Brundisium denique te ad me venturum fuisse, nisi subito in Hispaniam missus esses? Ut haec igitur omittam, quae mihi tanti aestimanda sunt, quanti vitam aestimo et salutem meam: liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quidquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, five faceta sunt, five sic, ⁵fiunt narrante te venustissima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis pene consumitur. Quod si in his scribendis nihil

hil aliud, nisi, quod necesse fuit, de uno me tam diu cogitavisses, ferreus essem, si te non amarem. Cum vero ea, quae scriptura persecutus es, sine summo amore cogitare non potueris, non possum existimare, plus quenquam a se ipso, quam me a te amari. Cui quidem ego amori, utinam caeteris rebus possem, amore certe respondebo : quo tamen ipso tibi confido ⁷ futurum satis. Nunc ad epistolam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam. Primum enim ego illas Calvo ⁸ literas misi, non plus quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus quod eos solos quibus mittimus, aliter quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium ejus melioribus extuli laudibus, quam tu id vere potuisse fieri putas. Primum, quod ita judicabam, acute movebatur. Genus quoddam sequebatur, in quo, judicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen assequebatur, quod probaret. Multae erant et reconditae literae, vis non erat. Ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. Habes de Calvo judicium et consilium meum : consilium, quod hortandi causa laudavi : judicium, quod de ingenio ejus valde existimavi bene. Reliquum est, tuam profectionem amore ⁹ prosequar, reditum

reditum spe expectem, absentem memoria colam, omne desiderium literis mittendis accipien-
disque leniam. Tu velim tua in me studia et officia multum tecum recordere: quae cum tibi liceat, mihi nefas sit oblivisci, non modo virum bonum me existimabis, verum etiam te a me amari plurimum judicabis. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.T.C. TREBONIO S.P.D.

ORATOREM¹ meum, sic enim inscripsi, Sabino tuo commendavi. Natio me hominis impulit, ut ei recte putarem, nisi forte candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus, hoc subito cognomen arripuit. Et si modestus ejus vultus, sermoque constans, habere quiddam a Curibus videbatur. Sed de Sabino satis. Tu, mi Treboni, cum ad amorem meum aliquantum olim discedens addidisti: quo tolerabilius feramus igniculum desiderii tui, crebris nos literis appellato, atque ita, si idem fiet a nobis. Quanquam duae causae sunt, cur tu frequentior in isto officio esse debeas, quam nos: primum, quod olim solebant, qui Romae erant, ad provinciales amicos de republica scribere: nunc tu nobis scribas oportet: res enim publica istic est. Deinde, quod nos aliis officiis tibi absenti satisfacere possumus,

sumus, tu nobis, nisi literis, non video, quare alia satisfacere possis. Sed caetera scribes ad nos postea. Nunc haec primo cupio cognoscere, iter tuum cuiusmodi sit, ubi Brutum nostrum videris, quamdiu simul fueris: deinde, cum processeris longius, de bellicis rebus, de toto negotio, ut existimare possimus, quo statu simus. Ego tantum me scire putabo, quantum ex tuis literis habebo cognitum. Cura ut valeas, meque ames amore illo singulari.

EPISTOLA XV.

TREBONIUS CICERONI S.

S V. B. E. Athenas veni a. d. xi. Kal. Jun. atque ibi, quod maxime optabam, vidi filium tuum, deditum optimis studiis, summaque modestiae fama. Qua ex re quantam voluptatem ceperim, scire potes etiam me tacente. Non enim nescis quanti te faciam, et quam, pro nostro veterrimo verissimoque amore, omnibus tuis etiam minimis commodis, non modo tanto bono, gaudeam. Noli putare, mi Cicero, me hoc auribus tuis dare: nihil adolescente tuo atque adeo nostro, nihil enim mihi a te potest esse sejunctum, aut amabilius omnibus iis, qui Athenis sunt, est: aut studiosius earum artium, quas tu maxime amas, hoc est, optimarum. Itaque

que tibi, quod vere facere possum, libenter quoque gratulor, nec minus etiam nobis: quod eum, quem necesse erat diligere, qualiscunque esset, talem habemus, ut libenter quoque diligamus. Qui cum mihi in sermone iniecisset, se velle Asiam visere, non modo invitatus, sed etiam rogatus est a me, ut id potissimum, nobis obtinentibus provinciam, faceret. Cui nos et caritate, et amore, tuum officium praestatueros non debes dubitare. Illud quoque erit nobis curae, ut Cratippus una cum eo sit, ne putes, in Asia feriatum illum ab iis studiis, in quae tua cohortatione incitatur, futurum. Nam illum paratum, ut video, et ingressum pleno gradu, cohortari non intermittemus, quo in dies longius discendo exercendoque se procedat. Vos quid ageretis in republica cum has literas dabam non sciebam. Audiebam quaedam turbulenta, quae scilicet cupio esse falsa, ut aliquando otiosa libertate fruamur: quod vel minime adhuc mihi contigit. Ego tamen nactus in navigatione nostra pusillum laxamenti, concinnavi tibi munusculum ex instituto meo: et dictum, cum magno nostro honore a te dictum, conclusi, et tibi infra subscripsi. In quibus versiculis si tibi quibusdam verbis εὐθυπρήμονές εἰμι videbor: turpitudine personae ejus, in quam liberius invehimur, nos

vindicabit. Ignosces etiam iracundiae nostrae, quae iusta est in eiusmodi et homines et cives. Deinde, qui magis hoc Lucilio licuerit assumere libertatis, quam nobis? cum etiam si odio par fuerit in eos, quos laesit, tamen certe non magis dignos habuerit, in quos tanta libertate verborum incurreret. Tu, sicut mihi pollicitus es, adjunges me quam primum ad tuos sermones. Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Caesaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem et rei, et amoris tui ferre. Vale, et matrem meosque tibi commendatos habe. D. VIII. Kalendas Junias, Athenis.

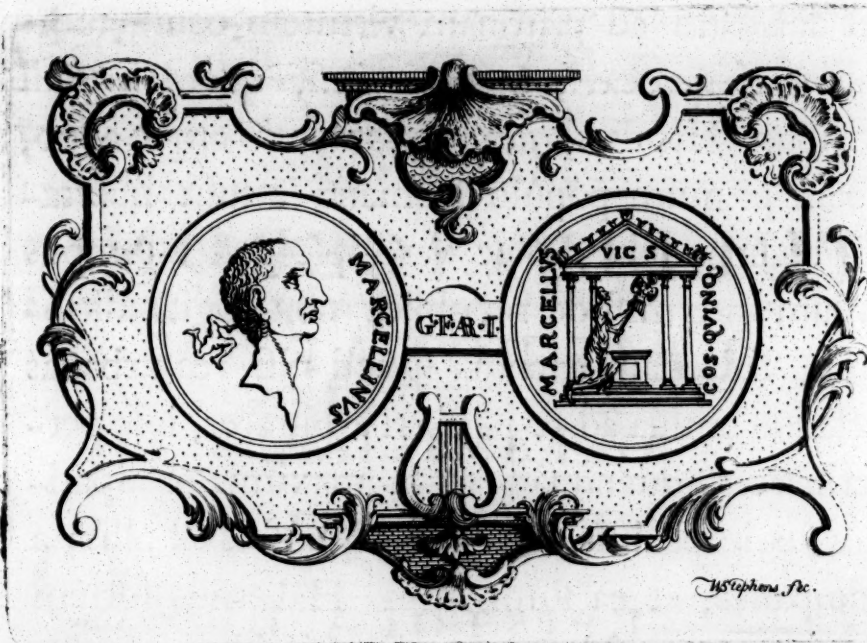
EPISTOLA XVI.

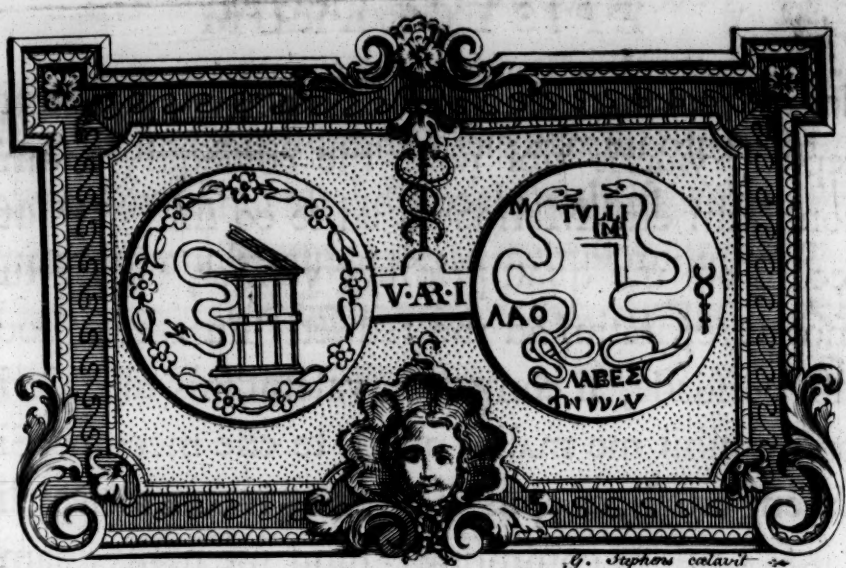
CICERO TREBONIO S.

QUAM¹ vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitaffes! reliquiarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum his tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rempublicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querelam. Quod vero a te viro optimo seductus est, tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subira-scor. Mihi enim negotii plus reliquisti uni, quam, praeter me, omnibus. Ut enim primum post Antonii foedissimum discessum senatus ha-
beri

beri libere potuit, ad illum animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum cive acerrimo, patre tuo, in ore et amore semper habuisti. Nam, cum ² senatum a. d. XIII. Kalendas Januarias tribuni plebis vocavissent, deque alia re referrent, totam rempublicam sum complexus, egique acerrime, senatumque jam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi, magis animi, quam ingenii viribus. Hic dies, meaque contentio atque actio, spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae, Nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de republica non cogitandi solum, sed etiam agendi. Quod nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quanquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognosces ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim. Habemus fortem senatum, consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar ³ optime sentit: sed, quod avunculus est, non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii: praeclarus D. Brutus: puer egregius Caesar, de quo spero equidem reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter conscripsisset, legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad ejus se auctoritatem contulissent,

lissent, atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse. Haec tibi etsi audita esse arbitrabar, volui tamen notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus otii habuero. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER XVI.

EPISTOLA I.

M.T.C. ET CICERO MEUS, ET FR. ET
FRATRIS FIL. TIRONI S.P.D.

PAULO¹ facilius, putavi posse me ferre de-
fiderium tui, sed plane non fero: et quan-
quam magni ad honorem nostrum interest,
quam primum ad urbem me venire, tamen pec-
casse mihi videor, qui a te discesserim. Sed quia
tua voluntas ea videbatur esse, ut prorsus, nisi
confirmato corpore, nolles navigare, approbavi
tuum consilium, neque nunc muto, si tu in ea-

dem es sententia. Sin autem postea, quam cibum cepisti, videris tibi posse me consequi; tuum consilium est. Marionem ad te eo misi, ut aut tecum ad me quamprimum veniret, aut, si tu morarere, statim ad me rediret. Tu autem hoc tibi persuade, si commodo valetudinis tuae fieri possit, nihil me malle, quam te esse mecum. Si autem intelliges opus esse, te Patris convalescendi causa paulum commorari, nihil me malle quam te valere. Si statim navigas, nos Leucade consequere. Sin te confirmare vis, et comites et tempestates, et navem idoneam ut habeas, diligenter videbis. Unum illud, mi Tiro, videto, si me amas, ne te Marionis adventus et hae literae moveant. Quod valetudini tuae maxime conducet, si feceris, maxime obtemperaris voluntati meae. Haec pro tuo ingenio considera. Nos ita te desideramus, ut amemus: amor, ut valentem videamus, hortatur; desiderium, ut quamprimum. Illud igitur potius. Cura ergo potissimum ut valeas: De tuis innumerabilibus in me officiis erit hoc gratissimum. III. Non. Nov.

EPISTOLA II.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S.P.D.

NON queo ad te, nec lubet scribere, quo animo sim affectus: tantum scribo, et tibi et mihi maximae voluptati fore, si te fir-
mum

num quam primum videro. Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. Is locus est citra Leucadem stadia cxx. Leucade aut te ipsum, aut tuas literas a Marione putabam me accepturum. Quantum me diligis, tantum fac ut valeas, vel quantum te a me scis diligere. Nonis Novembr. Alyzia.

EPISTOLA III.

TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO,
ET Q. PATER, ET Q. FILIUS S.D.

NOS apud Alyziam, ex quo loco tibi literas ante dederamus, unum diem commorati sumus, quod Quintus nos consecutus non erat. Is dies fuit Nonae Novembr. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes ante diem viii. Idus Novemb. has literas dedimus. Tu, si nos omnes amas, et praecipue me, magistrum tuum, confirma te. Ego valde suspenso animo expecto, primum te scilicet, deinde Marionem cum tuis literis. Omnes cupimus, ego in primis, quam primum te videre, sed, mi Tiro, valentem. Quare nihil properaris: satis quotidie videro, si valebis. Utilitatibus tuis possum carere: te valere, tua causa primum volo, tum mea, mi Tiro. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. ET Q. FR. ET Q. FIL. TIRONI S.

VARIE sum¹ affectus tuis literis, valde priore pagina perturbatus, paulum altera recreatus. Quare nunc quidem non dubito, quin, quoad plane valeas, te neque navigationi, neque viae committas. Satis te mature videro, si plane confirmatum videro. De medico et tu bene existimari scribis, et ego sic audio. Sed plane curationes ejus non probo. Jus enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum κακὸς ὄμαχ² esses: sed tamen et ad illum scripsi accurate, et ad Lysonem. Ad Curium vero, suavissimum hominem et summi officii summaeque humanitatis, multa scripsi: in his etiam, ut, si tibi videretur, te ad se transferret. Lyso enim noster vereor ne negligentior sit, primum quia omnes Graeci: deinde, quod cum a me literas accepisset, mihi nullas remisit. Sed eum tu laudas. Tu igitur quid faciendum sit judicabis. Illud, mi Tiro, te rogo, sumtui ne parcas ulla in re, quod ad valetudinem opus sit. Scripsi ad Curium, quod dixisses, daret. Medico ipsi puto aliquid dandum esse, quo sit studiosior. Innumerabilia tua sunt in me officia, domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia, in re privata, in publica, in studiis, in literis nostris. Omnia videris, si, ut spero, te validum videro. Ego puto

te

te bellissime, si recte erit, cum quaestore Messinio decursurum. Non inhumanus est, teque, ut mihi visus est, diligit, et cum valetudini tuae diligentissime consulueris, tum, mi Tiro, consulto navigationi. Nulla in re jam te festinare volo. Nihil laboro, nisi ut salvus sis. Sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse qui me amet, quin idem te amet: et cum tua et mea maxime interest te valere, tum multis est curae. Adhuc, dum mihi nullo loco deesse vis, nunquam te confirmare potuisti. Nunc te nihil impedit: omnia depone, corpori servi. Quantam diligentiam in valetudinem tuam contuleris, tanti me fieri iudicabo. Vale, mi Tiro, vale, vale et salve. Lepta tibi salutem dicit, et omnes. Vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Leucade.

EPISTOLA V.

TULLIUS ET CICERO, ET Q. Q. TIRONI HUMANISS. ET OPT. S. P. D.

VIDE, quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrei¹ fuimus. Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit, quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est, quae tibi essent opus: facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te Leucadem deportares, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere: quem, cum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres;

res: sed cogitavi, unas literas Marionem afferre posse, me autem crebras expectare. Poteris igitur, et facies, si me diligis, ut quotidie sit Acastus in portu: Multi erunt, quibus recte literas dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant. Equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri humanius, nihil nostri amantius. Ei te totum trade. Malo te paulo post valentem, quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud, nisi ut tu valeas: caetera ego curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale. Leucade proficiscens VII. Idus Novembr.

EPISTOLA VI.

M. TULLIUS CIC. PATER ET FIL.
ET Q. Q. TIRONI S.D.

TERTIAM ad te hanc epistolam scripsi eodem die, magis instituti mei tenendi causa, quia nactus eram cui darem, quam quo haberem quid scriberem. Igitur illa: quantum me diligis, tantum adhibe in te diligentiae. Ad tua innumerabilia in me officia adde hoc, quod mihi erit gratissimum omnium. Cum valetudinis rationem, ut spero, habueris, habeto etiam navigationis. In Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me literas dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praetermitto. Cura, cura te, mi Tiro, Cum
non

non contigit, ut simul navigares, nihil est quod festines: nec quidquam cures nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Actio vesperi.

EPISTOLA VII.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

SEPTIMUM jam diem Corcyrae tenebamur, Quintus autem pater et filius Buthroti. Solliciti eramus de tua valetudine mirum in modum. Nec mirabamur nihil a te literarum. Iis enim ventis istinc navigatur, qui si essent, nos Corcyrae non federemus. Cura igitur te, et confirma: et, cum commode, et per valetudinem et per anni tempus navigare poteris, ad nos amantissimos tui veni. Nemo nos amat, qui te non diligit. Carus omnibus expectatusque venies. Cura ut valeas etiam atque etiam, Tiro noster. Vale. xv. Kalend. Novembr. Corcyra.

EPISTOLA VIII.

TULLIUS ET CICERO S.D. TIRONI SUO:

NOS^a a te, ut scis, discessimus a.d. iv. Non. Novemb. Leucadem venimus a.d. viii. Idus Novembres. A.d. vii. Actium. Ibi propter tempestatem ad vi. Idus morati sumus. Inde a.d. quintum Idus Corcyram bellissime
navi-

navigavimus. Corcyrae fuimus usque ad xvi. Kalend. Decembr. tempestatibus retenti. A.d. xv. Kalend. Decembr. in portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia cxx. processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque ad ix. Kalendas. Interea, qui cupide profecti sunt, multi naufragia fecerunt. Nos eo die coenati solvimus. Inde Austro lenissimo, coelo sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus: eodemque vento postridie, id erat a. d. vii. Kalendas Decembr. hora quarta Brundisium venimus: eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia, quae te facit plurimi. A. d. v. Kal. Decemb. servus Cn. Plancii Brundisii tandem aliquando mihi a te expectatissimas literas reddidit, datas Idib. Novemb. quae me molestia valde levarunt, utinam omnino liberaissent. Sed tamen Asclapo medicus plane confirmat, prope diem te valentem fore. Nunc quid ego te horter, ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad convalescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem erga me novi. Scio te omnia facturum ut nobiscum quam primum sis. Sed tamen ita velim, ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis² velim vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres. Sed, quando pudori tuo maluisti obsequi, quam valetudini, reliqua cura. Curio mihi,

fi, ut medico honos haberetur, et tibi daret quod opus esset : me cui iussisset, curaturum. Equum et mulum Brundusii tibi reliqui. Romae vereor ne ex Kal. Jan. magni tumultus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice. Reliquum est ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges. Solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa. Cautus sis, mi Tiro. Mare magnum et difficile tibi restat. Si poteris, cum Mescinio. Caute is solet navigare. Si minus, cum honesto aliquo homine, cujus auctoritate navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si adhibueris, teque nobis incolumem praestiteris, omnia a te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale. Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime. Vale, salve.

EPISTOLA IX.

M. T. ET C. TERENT. ET TULLIA,
Q. FRAT. ET Q. F. TIRONI S. P. D.

ETSI¹ opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis desidero, tamen non tam mea, quam tua causa doleo te non valere. Sed cum in quartanam conversa vis est morbi, sic enim scribit Curius, spero te, diligentia adhibita, etiam firmiorem fore. Modo fac, id quod humanitatis tuae est, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore, nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro, quantum ex desiderio labores, sed erunt
omnia

omnia facilia, si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nausae molestiam suscipias aeger, et periculose hyeme naviges. Ego ad urbem accessi pridie Nonas Januar. obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil possit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae, vel potius belli: cui cum cuperem mederi, et, ut arbitror, possem, cupiditates certorum hominum, nam ex utraque parte sunt, qui pugnare cupiant, impedimento mihi fuerunt omnino. Et ipse Caesar, amicus noster, minaces ad senatum et acerbis literas miserat. Et erat adhuc impudens, qui exercitum et provinciam invito senatu teneret: et Curio meus illum incitabat. Antonius quidem noster, et Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant. Postea quam senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis pl. et nobis, qui proconsules sumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid respubl. detrimenti caperet, nunquam maiore in periculo civitas fuit, nunquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id fit auctoritate et studio Pompeii nostri, qui Caesarem fero coepit timere. Nobis inter has turbas senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum: sed Lentulus consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset, quae essent necessaria, de

repu-

republica dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide, eoque est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones descriptae sunt, quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos Capuam sumus. Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam atque etiam cura ut valeas, literasque ad me mittas, quotiescunque habebis cui des. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. pridie Idus Jan.

EPISTOLA X.

M. T. C. TIRONI SUO S. P. D.

QUO in discrimine¹ versetur salus mea, et bonorum omnium, atque universae reipublicae, ex eo scire potes, quod domos nostras, et patriam ipsam, vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum locum res deducta est, ut, nisi quis deus, vel casus aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. Equidem, ut veni ad urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire, et dicere, et facere, quae ad concordiam pertinerent: sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam his, qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent; me clamante, nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque cum Caesar amentia quadam raperetur, et oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus: quam sapienter, aut quam fortiter, nihil attinet

attinet disputare. Quo quidem in casu sumus vides. Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam: delectus qui sunt habiti, et praesidia nostra dimittantur: se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Confidio Noniano, his enim obtigerunt, traditurum: ad consulatus petitionem se venturum, neque se jam velle, absente se, rationem haberi sui: se praesentem trinundinum petiturum. Accepimus conditiones: sed ita, ut removeat praesidia ex his locis, quae occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis conditionibus Romae senatus haberi possit. Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis non honestae. Leges enim imponuntur. Sed quidvis est melius, quam sic esse ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis conditionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est: ejusmodi tamen quod sustinere ille non possit, praesertim cum a suis conditionibus ipse fugerit: tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem possit accedere: quod sperabamus fieri posse. Delectus enim magnos habebamus, putabamusque illum metuere, si ad urbem ire coepisset, ne Gallias amitteret, quas ambas habet inimicissimas, praeter Transpadanos: ex Hispaniaque sex legiones, et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi, modo ut urbe salva. Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod

quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus, socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum, et nobiscum est: multi-que idem facturi esse dicuntur. Ego adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae literae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam, quod Dolabella noster apud Caesarem est. Haec tibi nota esse volui: quae cave ne te perturbent, et impendant valetudinem tuam. Ego A. Varroni, quem cum amantissimum mei cognovi, tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis, et totum te susciperet ac tueretur: quem omnia facturum confido. Recepit enim et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu, quando eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines, aut committas, ut aut aeger, aut hieme naviges. Nunquam sero te venisse putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram, qui te postea vidisset, quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas literas accepi: quod non mirabar. Neque enim meas puto ad te literas tanta hieme perferri. Sed da operam, ut valeas: et, si valebis, cum recte na-

vigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in Formiano erat, Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura ut valeas. iv. Kalendas Febr. Capua.

EPISTOLA XI.

Q.C. TIRONI S.

MAGNAE ' nobis est sollicitudini valetudo tua. Nam, tametsi qui veniunt, ἀκίνδυνα μὲν, χρονιώτερα δὲ nuntiant, tamen in magna consolatione ingens inest sollicitudo, si diutius a nobis afuturus est is, cujus usum et suavitatem desiderando sentimus. Attamen quanquam videre te tota cogitatione cupio, tamen te penitus rogo, ne te tam longae navigationi, et viae per hiemem, nisi bene firmum committas, neve naviges nisi explore. Vix in ipsis tectis et oppidis frigus infirma valetudine vitatur, nedum in mari et via sit facile abesse ab injuria temporis.

Ψυχὴ δὲ λεπλῶ χρωτὶ πολεμιώτατον, inquit Euripides. Cui tu quantum credas, nescio. Ego certe singulos ejus versus, singula testimonia puto. Effice, si me diligis, ut valeas, et ut ad nos firmus ac valens quam primum venias. Ama nos, et vale. Q. F. tibi salutem dicit.

EPISTOLA XII.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

OMNIA a te data ' mihi putabo, si te valentem videro. Summa cura expectabam adventum Menandri, quem ad te miseram. Cura,

ra, si me diligis, ut valeas: et, cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos venias. Vale. iv. Idus April.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

ANDRICUS' postridie ad me venit, quam expectaram. Itaque habui noctem plenam timoris ac miseriae. Tuis literis nihilo sum factus certior, quomodo te haberes: sed tamen sum recreatus. Ego omni delectatione literisque omnibus careo, quas ante, quam te videro, attingere non possum. Medico mercedis, quantum poscet, promitti iubeto. Id scripsi ad Ummium. Audio te animo angī, et medicum dicere, ex eo te laborare. Si me diligis, excita ex somno tuas literas, humanitatemque, propter quam mihi es carissimus. Nunc opus est te animo valere, ut corpore possis. Id cum tua, tum mea causa facias, a te peto. Acastum retine, quo commodius tibi ministretur. Conserva te mihi. Dies promissorum adest. Quem etiam repraesentabo, si ad veneris. Etiam atque etiam vale. iv. Idus. hora vi.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

AEGYPTA ad me venit pridie Idus Apriles. Is etsi mihi nuntiavit, te plane febri carere et belle habere, tamen, quod negavit te

potuisse ad me scribere, curam mihi attulit, et eo magis, quod Hermia, quem eodem die venire oportuerat, non venerat. Incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine: qua si me liberaris, ego te omni cura liberabo. Plura scriberem, si jam putarem libenter te legere posse. Ingenium tuum, quod ego maximi facio, confer ad te mihi tibi que conservandum. Cura te etiam atque etiam diligenter. Vale. Scripta jam epistola, Hermia venit. Accepi tuam epistolam vacillantibus litterulis: nec mirum, tam gravi morbo. Ego ad te AEgyptam misi, quod nec inhumanus est, et te visus est mihi diligere, ut is tecum esset: et cum eo cocum, quo uterere. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

TULLIUS TIRONI S.P.D.

SPERO¹ ex tuis literis tibi melius esse: cupio certe. Cui quidem rei omni ratione cura, ut inservias: et cave suspiceris, contra meam voluntatem te facere, quod non sis mecum. Mecum es, si te curas. Quare malo te valetudini tuae servire, quam meis oculis et auribus. Et si enim et audio te, et video libenter: tamen hoc multo erit, si valebis, jucundius. Ego hic cesso, quia ipse nihil scribo: lego autem libentissime. Tu istuc, si quid librarii mea manu non intelligent, monstrabis. Una omnino interpositio difficilior

facilior est, quam ne ipse quidem facile legere soleo, de quadrimo ² Catone. De triclinio cura ut facis. Tertia aderit, modo ne Publius rogatus sit. Demetrius iste nunquam omnino Phalereus fuit, sed nunc plane Bilienus est. Itaque te do vicarium. Tu eum observabis. Etsi: veruntamen: de illis: nosti caetera. Sed tamen, si quem cum eo sermonem habueris, scribes ad me, ut mihi nascatur epistolae argumentum, et ut tuas quam longissimas literas legam. Cura, mi Tiro, ut valeas: hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

VIDEO ¹ quid agas. Tuas quoque epistolas vis referri in volumina. Sed heus tu, qui *καὶ* esse meorum scriptorum soles, unde illud tam *ἀκυρον*, “valetudini fideliter inserviendo?” Unde in istum locum “fideliter” venit? cui verbo domicilium est proprium in officio, migrationes in alienum multae. Nam et doctrina, et domus, et ars, et ager etiam fidelis dici potest, ut sit, quomodo Theophrasto placet, verecunda tralatio. Sed haec coram. Demetrius venit ad me: quo quidem comitatu *ἀφωμίλησά*: satis scis. Tu eum videlicet non potuisti videre: cras aderit: videbis igitur. Nam ego hinc pe-

rendie mane cogito. Valetudo tua me valde sollicitat : sed infervi, et fac omnia : tum te mecum esse, tum mihi cumulatissime satisfacere putato. Cuspicio quod operam dedisti, mihi gratum est. Valde enim ejus causa volo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVII.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

SOLLICITAT, ¹ ita vivam, me tua, mi Tiro, valetudo : sed confido, si diligentiam, quam instituisti, adhibueris, cito te firmum fore. Libros compone, indicem, cum Metrodoro lubebit, quando ejus arbitrato vivendum est. Cum olitore, ut videtur. Tu potes Kalendis spectare gladiatores, postridie redire, et ita censeo. Verum, ut videbitur. Cura te, si me amas, diligenter. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

EXPECTO ¹ tuas literas de multis rebus : te ipsum multo magis. Demetrium redde nostrum, et aliud, si quid potest boni. De Aufidiano nomine nihil te hortor. Scio tibi curae esse : sed confice. Et, si ob eam rem moraris, accipio causam : si id te non tenet, advola. Literas tuas valde expecto. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

M.T.C. TIRONI S.P.D.

EGO vero cupio te ad me venire, sed viam timeo. Gravissime aegrotasti; inedia et purgationibus, et vi ipsius morbi consumtus es. Graves solent offensiones esse ex gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est. Jam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via, dum in Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies quinque. Ego in Formiano ad III. Kalend. esse volo. Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. Literulae meae, five nostrae, tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hac tamen epistola, quam Acastus attulit, oculos paulum sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec scribebam. Hilare et libenter ei cupienti audire nostra dixi, sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis nostris para, ut operas reddas. Nostra ad diem dictam fient. Docui enim te, fides *ἔτομον* quod haberet. Fac plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale. XIV. Kal.

EPISTOLA XX,

TULLIUS TIRONI S.P.D.

QUID igitur? non sic oportet? Equidem censeo sic, addendum etiam, suo. Sed, si placet, invidia vitetur, quam quidem ego saepe

contemsi. Tibi διαφόρῃσιν² gaudeo profuisse. Si vero etiam Tusculanum, dii boni, quanto mihi illud erit amabilius! Sed, si me amas, quod quidem aut facis, aut perbelle simulas; quod tamen in modum procedit: sed ut est, indulge valetudini tuae: cui quidem tu adhuc, dum mihi deservis, servisti non satis. Ea quid postulet non ignoras: ³ πένθος, ἀκοπίαν, περίπαλον σύμμετρον, τέρψιν, εὐλυσίαν κοιλίας. Fac bellus revertare. Non modo te, sed etiam Tusculanum nostrum plus amem. ⁴ Parhedrum excita, ut hortum ipse conducat: sic olitorem ipsum commovebis. Helico nequissimus HS CIO dabat, nullo aprico horto, nullo emissario, nulla maceria, nulla casa. Iste nos tanta impensa derideat? calface hominem, ut ego M. Othonem: itaque abutor coronis. De Crabra quid agatur, etsi nunc quidem etiam nimium est aquae, tamen velim scire. Horologium mittam, et libros, si erit sudum. Sed tu nullosne tecum libellos? an pangis aliquid Sophocleum? fac opus appareat. A. Ligurius, Caesaris familiaris, mortuus est, bonus homo, et nobis amicus. Te quando expectemus, fac ut sciam. Cura te diligenter. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXI.

TULLIUS TIRONI S. P. D.

ETSI mane¹ Harpalum miseram, tamen cum haberem cui recte darem literas, etsi novi nihil erat, iisdem de rebus volui ad te saepius scribere: non quin considerem diligentiae tuae: sed rei me magnitudo movebat. Mihi prora² et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi, ut rationes nostras explicares. Offillio et Aurelio utique satis fiat. A Flamma, si non potes omne, partem aliquam velim extorqueas, in primisque ut expedita sit pensio Kalendis Jan. De³ attributione conficies. De repraesentatione, videbis. De domesticis haecenus. De publicis omnia mihi certa; quid Octavius, quid Antonius: quae hominum opinio: quid futurum putes. Ego vix teneor quin accurram. Sed st! Literas tuas expecto: et scito Balbum tum fuisse Aquini, cum tibi est dictum, et postridie Hirtium. Puto utrumque⁴ ad aquas. Sed quod egerint. Dolabellae procuratores fac admoneantur. Appellabis etiam Papiam. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S. P. D.

TU vero confice¹ professionem, si potes. Etsi haec pecunia ex eo genere est, ut professione non egeat. Veruntamen. Balbus ad
me

me scripsit, tanta se epiphora oppressum, ut loqui [non possit, Antonius de lege quid egerit. Liceat modo rusticari. Ad Bithynicum scripsi. De Servilio tu videris, qui senectutem non contemnis. Etsi Atticus noster, quia quondam me commoveri πανικόις intellexit, idem semper putat, nec videt, quibus praefidiis philosophiae septus sim: et hercle, quod timidus ipse est, θορυβοποιεῖ. Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo, scribamque ad eum, sed non ante quam te videro: nec tamen te avoco a syngrapha, γόνη κνήμης. Cras expecto Leptam. Etenim ad cuius rutam pulegio mihi tui sermonis utendum est. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

C. FIL. TIRONI SUO DULCISS.
S.P.D.

CUM vehementer tabellarios¹ expectarem quotidie, aliquando venerunt post diem XL et VI, quam a vobis discesserant: quorum mihi fuit adventus adoptatissimus. Nam cum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistola, tum vero jucundissimae tuae literae cumulum mihi gaudii attulerunt. Itaque me jam non poenitebat intercapedinem scribendi fecisse; sed potius laetabar. Fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam ex silentio mearum literarum.

rarum. Vehementer igitur gaudeo, te meam sine dubitatione accepisse excusationem. Gratos tibi optatosque esse, qui de me rumores afferuntur, non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro: praestaboque et enitar, ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio. Quare quod polliceris te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet. Tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae, ut non solum animus a factis, sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant. Cujus te sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse, notum exploratumque est mihi; nec id mirum. Nam cum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua. Socium enim te meorum commodorum semper esse volui. Quod igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc, ut duplicetur tuum ex me gaudium, praestabo. Cratippo me scito non ut discipulum, sed ut filium, esse conjunctissimum. Nam cum et audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam ejus suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque saepenumero partem. Exoro enim ut mecum quam saepissime coenet. Hac introducta consuetudine, saepe inscientibus nobis et coenantibus obrepit, sublataque severitate philosophiae, humanissime nobiscum jocatur. Quare da operam,

ram, ut hunc talem, tam jucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior discedere: cujus cum frugi severaque est vita, tum etiam jucundissima convictio. Non est enim sejunctus locus a philologia, et quotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxī. Et, ut possum, ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem. Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui, Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo. Utor familiaribus, et quotidianis victoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis, et illi probatissimis. Multum etiam mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides, et horum ceteri similes. τὰ μὲν ἐν καθ' ἡμᾶς τὰδε. De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in quotidiana declamatione utilis: sed omnia postposui, dummodo praeceptis patris parerem. διαρρήδην enim scripserat, ut eum dimitterem statim. Tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia σπεδὴ suspicionem ei aliquam importaret. Deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat grave esse, me de iudicio patris iudicare. Tuum tamen studium, et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi. Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis accipio. Scio enim quam soleas esse

occu-

occupatus. Emisse te praedium vehementer gaudeo, feliciterque tibi rem istam evenire cupio. Hoc loco me tibi gratulari noli mirari. Eodem enim fere loco tu quoque, emisse te, fecisti me certiozem. Habes deponendae ubi sunt urbanitates. Rusticus Romanus factus es. Quomodo ego mihi nunc ante oculos tuum jucundissimum conspectum propono; videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum villico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda femina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse aeque ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si modo fortuna me: praesertim cum sciam, communem nobis emtum esse istum fundum. De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit, est mihi gratum. Sed peto a te, ut quam celerissime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus: multum mihi enim eripitur operae in exscribendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures ut valeas; ut una *συμφιλολογῆν* possimus. Antherum tibi commendo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

CICERO FIL. TIRONI SUO S.P.D.

ETSI iusta et idonea usus es excusatione de intermissione literarum tuarum, tamen id ne saepius facias, rogo. Nam etsi de re-
publica

publica rumoribus et nuntiis certior fio, et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater: tamen de quavis minima re scripta a te ad me epistola semper fuit gratissima. Quare, cum in primis tuas desiderem literas, noli committere, ut excusatione potius expleas officium scribendi, quam assiduitate epistolarum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXV.

Q.C. TIRONI SUO S.P.D.

MIRIFICAM^r mihi verberationem cef-
sationis epistola dedisti. Nam, quae par-
cius frater perscripserat, verecundia videlicet, et
properatione, ea tu sine assentatione, ut erant,
ad me scripsisti, et maxime de consulibus de-
signatis: quos ego penitus novi libidinum et
languoris effoeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi
a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab uni-
verso naufragio periculum est. Incredibile est,
quae ego illos scio, oppositis Gallorum castris,
in aestivis fecisse; quos ille latro, nisi aliquid fir-
mius fuerit, societate vitiorum deliniet. Res est
aut tribunitiis, aut privatis consiliis munienda.
Nam isti duo vix sunt digni, quibus alteri Cae-
senam, alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum funda-
menta credas. Te, ut dixi, fero oculis. Ego vos
a.d. III. Kalend. videbo; tuosque oculos, etiam

si te veniens in medio foro videro, diffaviabor.
Me ama. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

Q.C.M. CICERONI FRATRI S.P.D.

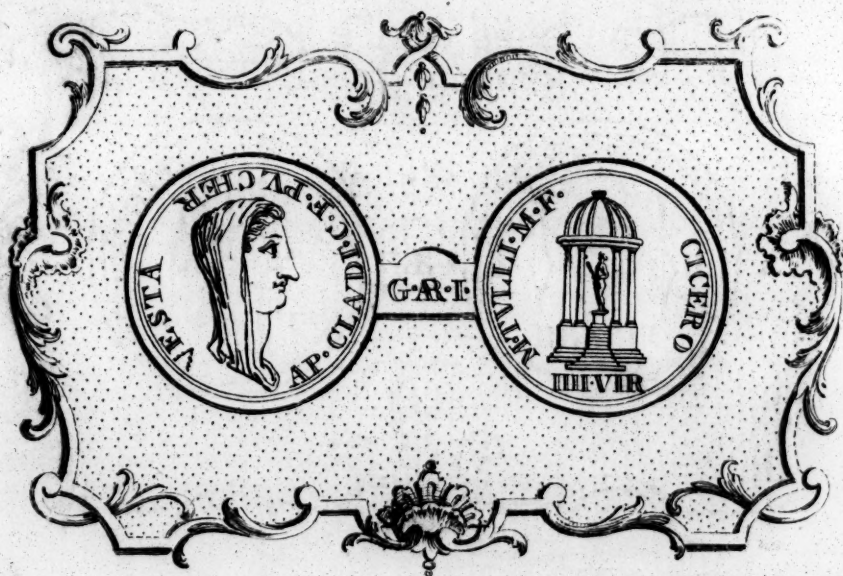
DE Tirone, mi Marce, ita te, meumque Ciceronem, et meam Tulliolam, tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gratissimum fecisti, cum eum indignum illa fortuna, ac nobis amicum, quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius literis perlectis, exfilui gaudio. Tibi et ago gratias, et gratulor. Si enim mihi Statii fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent, additis literis, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora? Amo te omnibus equidem maximis de causis, verum etiam propter hanc, vel quod mihi sic, ut debuisti, nuntiaisti. Te totum in literis vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia, et faciam.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

Q. CICERO TIRONI SUO S.P.D.

VERBERAVI te cogitationis tacito duntaxat convicio, quod fasciculus alter ad me jam sine tuis literis perlatus est. Non potes effugere hujus culpaе poenam. De patrono Marcus

cus est adhibendus : isque diu et multis lucubrationibus commentata oratione. Vide, ut probare possit, te non peccasse. Plane te rogo, sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae : sic, tu, etiam si, quod scribas, non habebis, scribito tamen, ne furtum cessationis quaesivisse videaris. Valde enim mihi semper et vera, et dulcia tuis epistolis nuntiatur. Ama nos, et vale.



THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
EPISTLES.

VOL. II.

Aa

REMARKS

1872

1873

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
NINTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

¹ *E*^X his literis.] M. Terentius Varro, to whom the eight first letters in this book are written, was a person of distinguished abilities and learning, and in high esteem and friendship with Cicero. He was born about ten years before him, and therefore must have been near seventy years old, when this correspondence began. But he still enjoyed the same strength of parts and vivacity of genius, as he always had, and pursued his studies with equal warmth and vigor. *Humanae vitae*, says Valerius Maximus, *exemplum actatisque spatium nominandus, non annis, quibus saeculum aequavit, quam stilo vivacior fuit. In eodem enim lectulo et spiritus ejus et egregiorum operum cursus extinctus est*, lib. 8. c. 7. For he continued writing to his last, and boasted that when he had entered *duodecimam annorum hebdomadam*, or his seventy-eighth year, he had written *septuaginta hebdomadas librorum*, or four hundred and ninety volumes. But yet, so great are the revolutions in the republic of learning, nothing remains entire of this great man's works but his treatise on husbandry, one of his most inconsiderable peices. Almost every thing else, which are preserved of his writings, have been collected from the works of a set of writers, who never would have been known, nor indeed deserve to have been known, had they not been the repositories of such invaluable treasures. There appears to have been a great difference between

Cicero's character and his; for though they both incessantly employed themselves in the improvement of science, and in writing for the advantage of their countrymen, yet Cicero could not confine himself within such contracted bounds of doing good, and so narrow a field of glory. His ambition led him first into the public theatre of business and eloquence. His comprehensive understanding of business and superior skill in eloquence, soon raised him to the highest honors of the state: and his spirit of patriotism and integrity made him the darling of all the true friends of the liberty and constitution of his country. But Varro seems to have dedicated the greatest part of his time to contemplation and retirement, and whenever he did engage himself in public affairs, he did it with regret and unwillingness, though he discovered great integrity in the execution of them, and great abilities in the success, which attended him. He was lieutenant to Pompey in the Piratic war, and at that time projected a scheme for joining Italy and Macedonia together by a bridge. But whether the impracticableness of it deterred him from pursuing it, or whether other business drew his attention from it, is not known. He was *Ædil* A.U. 693, and though he wrote a satyr upon the triumvirate at that time, yet he was in great confidence with Pompey and Caesar. In the beginning of the civil wars between those two great men he was Pompey's lieutenant in Spain; but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius he quitted his arms, and retired to his studies, in which he was engaged, when this letter was written to him A.U. 707. A. Gellius, lib. 3. c. x. Plin. l. 3. 11. lib. 35. 2. Lactantius lib. 1. c. 6. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 120. Martin. Hanckius de Rom. Scrip. lib. 2. 6.

² *In urbem venerim.*] After the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, Cicero returned into Italy, and after some stay at Brundisium, where he landed, he went to Rome, and employed himself chiefly in study.

³ *Me facile transitorium.*] Dr. Mead's MS. confirms this reading, and it seems to be the true one. *Transitorium* in this place signifies the same as *evitare* or *deflectere*; others read *subituum*.

EPIST. II.

¹ *ETSI quid scriberem.*] This letter is the third in all the editions; but it undoubtedly was written before the second. For in that Cicero takes notice of the letter, which he sent by Caninius. The people at Rome were still in suspense about the event of the African war.

² *In istis locis,*] probably *Baiae*; for it appears from the following letter, that Varro intended to go there. *Te vero nolo, nisi ipse rumor jam raucus erit factus, ad Baias venire.* This place was the usual retreat of the old Romans in the winter-season, and much resorted to upon account of its delightful situation and its medicinal waters: but Cicero thought it an improper place for himself and Varro to retire to, both because it was too public and too much devoted to pleasures and diversions for persons of their character, and in their circumstances. Seneca had the same opinion of it in his time, ep. 51. *Illic, says he, sibi plurimum luxuria permittit: illic tanquam aliqua licentia debeat loco, magis solvitur. Non tantum corpori, sed etiam moribus salubrem locum eligere debemus.*

³ Γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας.] Vid. ep. 2. lib. vi. rem. 4.

EPIST. III.

¹ *CANINIUS idem tuus.*] This relates to the preceding letter.

² *At tibi repente.*] Manutius observes upon this place, that *tibi* is elegantly *redundant*. Thus Coelius, ep. 3. lib. 8. *Hic tibi strepitus, fremitus, clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus.*

³ *Et si erat ἔωλθε.*] *Obsoleta, stale.* The change of affairs, to which he alludes, seems to have been Caesar's victory in Africa over the Pompeians.

⁴ *Sed calumniabor ipse.*] *Sed falsa suspitione me impediebam.* See rem. 3. ep. 1. lib. 1. He was afraid of offending Caesar; for he means him in the following words, and alludes to an interview between them the foregoing year. For Caesar, after the Alexandrian war, returned to Italy, and landed at Tarentum in the month of September. Cicero, who was then at Brundisium, set out to meet him on foot, as soon as he heard of his going to Rome; and when Caesar saw him coming towards him, he alighted out of his chariot, and ran to embrace him, and walked with him alone for several furlongs. Plut. in vit. Cic. v. 2. 143.

⁵ *Ἀεληθότως.*] *Clam, pedetentim, or, insensibly and by degrees.*

⁶ *Scribere et legere πολιτείας.*] Cicero tells Varro, that if they cannot serve their country by employing themselves in the public affairs, yet they may by imitating the ancient philosophers in writing treatises upon government, laws and morality. For it is remarkable, that amongst the Greeks no one pretended to be a philosopher, but he always assumed the character of a law-giver and contriver of civil polity. Hence in the catalogues of their writings preserved to us by Diogenes Laertius we always find treatises upon government. What they were may be learned from those of Plato and Aristotle, which are delivered down to us along with their other works.

⁷ *Navare rempublicam.*] This expression is of the same sort with those, which are more frequently met with, as *navare benevolentiam, bellum, flagitium, &c.* Tacit. hist. iv. 59. Ep. ad Attic. 11. lib. ix. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *gnavare*, which being an old way of spelling *navare*, introduced the other reading: *gravare*. Victorius and Graevius both approve the reading of the text.

EPIST. IV.

* **Π**ΕΡΙ δυνατῶν.] That is, *de rebus, quae fieri possunt*, scito me cum Diodoro sentire. Cicero in this letter jocosely alludes to a famous controversy among the stoics, concerning things possible and impossible, occasioned by their doctrine of fate. The question was, whether among those things, which never had happened, nor ever were to happen, any of them were possible or no. Diodorus, a famous logician of the school of Megara, denied, that they were possible: Chrysippus affirmed that they were. The different opinions of these two philosophers are well explained by Cicero in his treatise upon Fate, c. 7. *at hoc, Chrysippe minime vis: maximeque tibi de hoc ipso cum Diodoro certamen est. Ille enim id solum fieri posse dicit, quod aut sit verum, aut futurum sit verum: et, quicquid futurum sit, id dicit fieri necesse esse; et quicquid non sit futurum, id negat fieri posse. Tu, et quae non sint futura, posse fieri dicis, ut frangi hanc gemmam, etiamsi id nunquam futurum sit: neque necesse esse Cypselum regnare Corinthi, quanquam id millesimo ante anno Apollinis oraculo esset editum.*

² *Quam noster Diodotus non concoquebat.*] Consider, says Cicero, whether the κρίσις χρυσιππέια, judgment Chrysippi, or the other opinion, which our friend Diodotus could never digest, pleases you best? It was a custom at Rome, when the Greek learning and philosophy became a fashionable part of polite education for the great men to keep in their houses some eminent scholars of that people, to instruct them in those branches of knowledge which they professed. Diodotus was one of these; he lived in Cicero's family, was preceptor to him in logic and philosophy, and, though he was blind several years before his death, yet pursued his studies with the same vigor and assiduity as he had ever done: Cicero gives this account of him, *quod sine oculis*

fieri posse vix videretur, Geometriae munus tuebatur, verbis praecipiens discantibus, unde, quo, quamque lineam describerent. Tusc. dis. lib. 5. 39. He died in Cicero's house A.U. 694. and left him a considerable legacy, 20 ep. ad Attic. lib. 2. De clar. orat. 90. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *non coquebat*.

De Coctio.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *Costio*. But both this and the reading of the text are wrong; for we ought to read *Cocceio*. It appears from a letter to Atticus, written about this time, that there was a money affair between Cicero and him; to which he most probably alludes.

* *Si hortum in bibliotheca.*] That is, *since you have a garden near your library, nothing else will be wanting; the one will serve me for exercise, and the other for study; which two things will engage most of my time.* This interpretation, which I think the words will admit, frees this passage from all the difficulties, with which it hath been attended. *Si* signifies: *cum, quoniam, since*; as in the following place. In Catil. 1. 3. *quid est, Catilina, quod expectes, si illustrantur, — si erumpunt omnia?* And in *Bibliotheca* is, as Badius hath already interpreted it, *in loco bibliothecae vicino*. The Abbè Olivet explains this place in a different manner: Cicero, says he, pleasantly tells Varro, that he shall do nothing but walk and study; nay, if he had a garden in his library, he should never go out of it.

EPIST. V.

* *MIHI vero ad non.*] Cicero tells Varro, that he approves of the day, which he had appointed for their meeting, and that he would take care to be with him by that time. For both the confusion in the public affairs, and heat of the weather, would make their retirement to his *Cuman Villa* very agreeable. This letter seems to have been written before Caesar returned from Africa.

* *Consilii nostri.*] This alludes to the quitting the war and returning to Italy, of which he says, neither he nor Varro would have had any reason to repent, even if their old friends had succeeded in Africa; but as they have not, he thinks they have more undoubted reason to be satisfied with their determination of living quietly.

* *Lavatio.*] Gronovius interprets this to signify the principal vessel which the ancients made use of to bathe in; and refers to the following passage in Phaedrus. lib. v. 4. 21.

*Sepōnit maechae vestem, mundum muliebre,
Lavationem argenteam, eunuchos glabros :*

But, I think, both in this place and in the letter under our consideration, it may better be understood to comprehend the whole furniture of the bath, *the labrum, the brushes, and the other instruments*; though I do not deny but that *lavatio* hath properly and originally the other signification. vid. Dempsteri Paralip. in Rosini Antiq. i. 68.

EPIST. VI.

E*ST igitur adventus, Caesaris scilicet.*] It would be too trifling to enquire, whether the words *Caesaris scilicet* ought to be retained in the text, or no? The authority of the MSS. is in general on the side of the text, and there is little reason to be offered against it. But it will be more to the purpose to tell my reader, that Caesar was expected from Africa at this time, and that *Alsum*, the place where he intended to land, was a sea-port at the mouth of the river *Aro* in *Etruria*; but his friends Balbus, Oppius, and others, advised him to land at the mouth of the Tiber, by which means he would avoid many troublesome applications. Caesar came to Rome about the end of July; so that this letter was probably
written

written some time in the preceding part of that month.

² *Hoc ego idcirco nosse te volui.*] Cicero and Varro both intended to pay the compliment to Caesar of meeting him before he came to Rome.

³ *Nostros amicos.*] *The Pompeians.* Cicero always gives this character of Pompey and his friends.

⁴ *Civilis belli victoriam.*] Cicero hath the same sentiment. Ep. 23. lib. 4.

⁵ *Ad bestiarum auxilium.*] He alludes to the Africans under Juba, and very probably to their manner of fighting with Elephants. He speaks of the same thing in the following manner in a letter to Atticus: *ex omnibus nihil magis desideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimae gentis rempub. defendendam, praesertim contra exercitum victorem.* Ep. xi. lib. 7.

⁶ *Aetis et voluptatibus.*] This place will admit of a double interpretation. *Aetis* may either relate to the success of Caesar and his party, or else may signify *carousing, banqueting, luxurious living*, and be synonymous to *voluptatibus*. For a passage in Plutarch's Symposiacs will justify this interpretation. The question proposed there is, What is the reason, that when people make an agreement to be upon a party of pleasure, they commonly say: *σήμερον ἀκλίζομεν*, *in aetis convivabimur hodie?* to which the answer is, because they enjoyed themselves best *in aetis*, the villa's upon the sea-shore, and the houses of pleasure built there. For it appears from Servius in Virgil. *Æn.* 5. 613. that the original signification of *aetiae* is *secreta et amoena littorum*. And it is well known, that the Romans had public stews built in those places, which were resorted to by the debauchees and rakes; and that women were exposed naked for their use. To this Seneca seems to allude, *Controv.* II. 1. *nuda in littore stetisti ad fasti-*

fastidium emptoris. And Cicero takes notice, that Verres in *acta cum mulierculis jaciebat ebrius.* 5. 25. Hence *actae* came to signify either places of pleasure, or the pleasure itself. Plutarch. Sym. IV. 4.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *NAM quod antea calumniatus sum.*] It is now high time, says Cicero, for us to think of setting out to meet Caesar, and since his success in Africa hath determined every thing in his favour, I will now discover my own artifice in keeping you near me. I was, in short, under some apprehensions of terror, and thought that we should be more secure from resentment by being together. For, as it is in Homer,

By mutual confidence and mutual aid
Great deeds are done, and great discoveries made;
The wise new prudence from the wise acquire,
And one brave hero fans another's fire.

Pope's transl. x. 265. line 224 of the Orig.

² *Quin equis viris.*] A proverb often used by Cicero, to express great expedition and haste.

³ *L. Caesare.*] As soon as I heard of the death of L. Caesar, I said to myself in the words of Terence: *quid hic mihi faciet patri?* if he kills his own relations, what will he do with me? L. Julius Caesar was son of one of the same name, who had been consul A. U. 698, and a distant relation of Caesar. Both father and son had followed the interest of Pompey, and were pardoned by Caesar; but the latter did not enjoy the benefits of this pardon long, for he was murdered by the soldiers, and, as it was supposed, not without the order of Caesar himself. Dio 43. Terent. Andr. I. I. 112.

⁴ *Itaque nullum est αποπροηγμένον.*] Cicero translates this

this word in his treatise de Finibus 3. 16. by *rejetum*, and means by it the evils and inconveniencies of life.

¶ *Sed quod quaeris, quando.*] But, that I may answer to your inquiry, when Caesar is expected, and where, and how he intends to come, we know nothing certain at present. Some doubt whether he will land at *Baiae*, or make *Sardinia* in his way, which place he has not yet seen; and though it is one of his *worst farms*, yet he does not despise it. *Manutius* concludes from this passage, that this letter ought to be placed before the preceding one; but nothing of that kind can be collected. For there is as much uncertainty in that, about Caesar's coming, as in this; and nothing is mentioned there of the coming of *Dolabella*, which would certainly have been done, if he had known any thing of it at the time of writing that letter. For they depended much upon his coming, who was able to instruct them when to go, and how to behave to Caesar. He, says Cicero, *puto magistrum fore*; and though he hath been my pupil formerly, and received instruction from me, yet, now the times are altered; like many other scholars, *he is become wiser than his teacher*.

EPIST. VIII.

¶ *ETSI munus flagitare.*] The preceding letters were all written within a short time of each other in the year U.C. 707; but this was not written till the following year. For the letters to Atticus upon the same subject determine the date with great certainty, lib. 13. epist. 24, 25. The occasion of writing it was this: Varro and Cicero, upon the late renewal of their friendship, had engaged to render it immortal, by a mutual dedication of their works to each other. Cicero in this letter puts Varro in mind of his promise, and sends him at the same time a work of his own, written in the way of dialogue,

in which there was allotted to Varro a considerable share. It was a defence of the doctrines and principles of the academy, in four books. He had digested it in a different form at first, and had introduced Catulus and Lucullus as two of the principal speakers; but considering that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers, and being put in mind of his engagements to Varro, he reformed and enlarged his plan, and divided it into four books, of which all, except part of the first, are lost, whilst the former work remains entire under the original title *Lucullus*. The opinion generally received, that this work upon the first plan was ever published by Cicero, or consisted of two books, the former under the title of *Catulus*, and the latter under that of *Lucullus*, seems to have no foundation. yid. Ep. ad Attic. lib. XII. 45. lib. XIII. 16, 18. Chapman's Dissert. de Cicer. lib. de leg.

² *Os illius adolescentioris academiae.*] The Academic Sect derived its origin from Socrates, but its name from a place in the suburbs of Athens, where the professors used to hold their lectures and disputations. Diogenes Laertius, and after him most other writers, mentions three divisions of this sect; the old, which was founded by Plato; the middle, by Arcefilas; and the new, by Carneades. But there was undoubtedly no ground for any such distinction; since Cicero never mentions any other but *the old* and *the new*. Plato, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates and Crantor, were all successive masters and governors of the former, and adhered to a system of doctrines, which they taught and delivered as the peculiar tenets of their sect. But Arcefilas discarded all these opinions of his predecessors, and revived the old Socratic method of affirming nothing, and doubting every thing, which gave birth to the latter. Cicero belonged to this; and, in allusion to its custom of disputing the truth of every thing, tells Varro, that he is well acquainted with the confidence, the *as illius*

lius academiae adolescentioris. See the Life of Cicero, where the origin and account of the academy is explained at large. v. 2. 536.

³ *Antiochinas.*] I know not whether it is worth while to observe, that Cicero uses *Antiochius* in another place. Ep. ad Attic. XIII. 25. and that the MSS. are divided. Dr. Mead's MS. agrees with the text. Antiochus was a defender of the principles of the old academy, and preceptor to Lucullus, Cicero and Brutus. Philo was a defender of the new, and another of Cicero's masters, and highly valued by him. Strab. I. 6. ep. I. lib. 13.

Sed haec coram et saepius.] The pointing of this place is a blunder of the press. For it ought to be thus: *sed haec coram, et saepius. Migrationem, &c.* Varro had just now bought a house, and was going to reside in it.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *SI vales gaudeo.*] *P. Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella*, who had married Tullia, Cicero's daughter, and was in strict friendship with Caesar, wrote this letter to Cicero, A.U. 705, exhorting him, to consider his own safety; and, if, as it was reported, Pompey should be obliged to draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war from Dyrrachium, where he was then besieged, to some distant place, to retire to Athens, or some other neutral city, and to wait the event.

² *Nec regum ac nationum clientelis.*] It was a custom in the earliest ages of the republic, upon the first conquests made in Italy, and afterwards in the distant parts of the world, for cities, provinces, and kingdoms, to put themselves under the patronage of some person of eminence and authority at Rome; and it was not only esteemed a security of their rights and privileges, but a reputation and glory to the person whom they chose to be their patron. Liv. lib. 9. 20.

Amiffis

³ *Amiffis Hispaniis.*] Pompey's flying into Greece, and leaving Spain, which was intirely devoted to his interest, and furnished with a veteran army, to the command of his lieutenants, was one of the greatest blunders, that he ever committed. Caesar, when he went into Spain, said: *that he went to find an army without a general, and would return to a general without an army.* Suet. in Jul. c. 34.

EPIST. X.

¹ *NON sum ausus Salvo.*] This letter was written to Dolabella, whilst he was with Caesar in Spain, in the beginning of the year U.C. 708. for in the latter end of the preceding year T. Quintius Scapula, and Pompey's sons, raised new commotions there; and by the credit of their father's name, and the assistance of a few scattered troops, which had fled from Africa, were become masters again of that province.

² *Inter Niciam nostrum et Vibium.*] Cicero jocosely tells Dolabella, that he hath nothing new to acquaint him with; but that he is chosen arbitrator between Nicias and Vibius, who were quarrelling with each other about some articles in a bill, which were charged by the latter, and not acknowledged by the former. Nicias was a grammarian by profession, which gave occasion to Cicero to call him Aristarchus, and to compare his manner of treating the bill, delivered to him by Vibius, with the practice of that celebrated critic upon the works of Homer, *alter Aristarchus hos ὁδερίζει*, that is, *versiculos notat tanquam spurios*. And I, says Cicero, like an ancient critic, am appealed to determine, whether they belong to the poet, or are supposititious, *an ποιῆς, an παρεμβεβλημένοι*, *utrum sint poetae, an interjecti*. Nicias is mentioned by Cicero with some sort of deference to his opinion in that little grammatical dispute between him and
At-

Atticus, whether he ought to have written *in Piræea* or *Piræea*. For Cicero defends himself by saying he used *Piræea* for a place and not for a town, *non enim hoc, ut oppido præposui, sed ut loco*, and then supports his opinion by the authority of two grammarians. *Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, et Nicias Cous non rebatur oppidum esse Piræea.* ep. ad Attic. 3. lib. 7. Sueton. de Grammat. illus. c. 14. concerning Aristarchus, rem. 4. ep. xi. lib. iii.

³ *Puto nunc dicere.*] Cicero supposes Dolabella to put him this question, whether he would have courage to determine against his friend Nicias, who had entertained him so often at his table with so much plenty and elegance.

⁴ *Et ingentium culinarum cum Sophia Septimiae.*] The MSS. are very corrupt in this place. Dr. Mead's hath *et ingentium cularum*, and most of the others agree in this reading. Lambin conjectures that it ought to be *Gallarum*; Manutius, *Culinarum*; but Gronovius, with much ingeniousness, *Squillarum*; for this departs very little from the MSS. and *Squilla* was a fish in high esteem among the Romans. vid. Plin. ep. 17. lib. 2. Juv. 5. 82. Gronovius also reads *Sepia* instead of *Sophia*: but the common reading is better, and supported by the MSS.

⁵ *Ut si ego eum condemnaro, tu restituas.*] This alludes to Caesar's recalling so many from banishment, and particularly to Bursa, Cicero's old enemy. vid. ep. 2. lib. 7.

⁶ *Syllae morte.*] This P. Sylla was a relation to Sylla the dictator, and in great confidence with him; he had been employed both by Sylla and Caesar to preside at the sale of the confiscated estates, which gave occasion to Cicero to conclude the letter very jocosely. *As for my own part*, says he, *I am quite unconcerned about it. I am only afraid*, ne hasta Caesaris refrixerit, *that we shall have no more auctions, now the auctioneer is gone.* vid. ep. lib. xv. de offic. lib. 2.

EPIST. XI.

¹ *CAIUS Suberinus Calenus.*] This letter was written to Dolabella, in Spain, not long after that, which precedes it. The occasion of writing it was, to recommend C. Suberinus, a native of Cales, a town in Campania, and M. Planius Heres, to the protection of Dolabella. These two persons continued in Spain, without any expectation, that the war would be renewed in that province after the first reduction of it by Caesar; and were engaged in the present war against their inclinations. Cicero desires therefore, that Dolabella would procure them a passport from Caesar, to return home.

² *Post Afranium.*] This person was one of Pompey's lieutenants, who had been subdued by Caesar in his first expedition into that province.

³ *Alteri vix equestris.*] A Person possessed of four hundred thousand sesterces, or about three thousand pounds of our money, was enrolled in the list of *equites*, and that was called an *equestrian fortune*.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *VEL meo ipsius interitu.*] Dolabella, not knowing of the death of Tullia, seems to have written from Spain to Cicero, to complain of his long silence, and to acquaint him, that he often entered into disputes in defence of his character. Cicero answers him in this letter, and tells him the melancholy occasion of his not writing, and that he is more pleased with being defended by him, because it is a testimony of his love and friendship for him, than because it is a justification of his character. For he has a high value for the former, but very little regard for the latter.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *GRATULOR Baiis nostris.*] It is probable, that Dolabella wrote to Cicero, that he had found benefit from the air and waters of Baiae, *quod salubres factae essent*. Cicero answers him in this letter, and congratulates Baiae for becoming *salubres*, that is, *temperate, sober, frugal*, in opposition to *luxuriosus*. Thus Suetonius, Aug. 42. *sed ut salubrem magis, quam ambitiosum principem scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum, severissima coercuit voce: satis provisum a genere suo Agrippa, perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent.*

² *Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro.*] King Deiotarus had been deprived by Caesar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was accused A.U. 700 of a design against Caesar's life. The trial was held in Caesar's house, and Cicero spoke the oration, which he mentions here, in defence of him. Caesar was convinced of his innocence, but being unwilling to acquit him, deferred giving sentence till he should go himself in person into the east. The oration is still extant.

³ *Levidense.*] that is: *munus non valde excultum et pretiosum*. This is the true reading: Dr. Mead's MS. *Levidruse Crasso filio*, and omits *volui*.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *ETSI contentus eram.*] In the year U.C. 709, immediately after the death of J. Caesar, Dolabella took advantage of the general confusion, and seized the ensigns, and assumed the character of the consul, because he had been nominated to enter upon that office, as soon as Caesar should set out upon his intended expedition to *Parthia*. And M. Antony intending to make a progress through Italy, had now left him the intire government of the city,

ty. He had not yet publicly declared, whether he should join himself to the friends of the murtherers of Caesar, or to the opposite party; but a seasonable act of discipline and severity raised great hopes in the minds of the former. For the freed men of Caesar having erected an altar in the Forum, upon the spot, where Caesar's body was burnt, with a pillar of Numidian marble, twenty feet high, inscribed to THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, performed daily sacrifices, and divine rites, and raised great tumults in the city; but as soon as Dolabella heard of it, he went with great courage and resolution, and demolished the pillar and altar, seized the authors of the confusion, and punished those, who were free, by throwing them down the Tarpeian rock, and crucified the slaves. This gave an universal joy to the city; and Cicero, who was now at Baiae, upon hearing the news, wrote this letter, to congratulate him upon it. Life of Cic. v. 2. 265. Epist. ad Attic. lib. 14. Ep. 15, 16, 19.

[*In haec loca conveniunt.*] Dr. Mead's MS reads *veniant*. [*Hereditatem alienae gloriae cernere sinas.*] that is, *permit me to put in this false claim to your glory*. The lawyers by *hereditas* understand not only *the inheritance itself*, but also *the right of inheritance*. And *cernere hereditatem* signifies properly, *to put in a claim to an inheritance in a solemn and prescribed form of words*. Thus Ulpian, Instit. tit. 22. n. 28. *Cernere est, verba cretionis dicere ad hunc modum: CUM ME MÆVIUS HEREDEM INSTITUERIT, EAM HEREDITATEM ADEO CERNOQUE*. And Varro explains it much in the same manner, de L. L. lib. 6. *Heres cum constituit se heredem esse, dicitur cernere; et, cum id fecit, crevisse*. It may be observed also, that Cicero frequently uses the simple word *cerno* in the same sense. Thus lib. 13. ad Attic. Ep. 46. *nunc mittendum est, meo jussu cernat*; again, Epist. 46, of the same book.

EPIST. XV.

[*SUMMUM me ducem.*] The following letters in this book are all written to L. Papirius Paetus, who appears from this correspondence to have been a person of great wit and humor, and in close friendship with Cicero. He was an Epicurean, and in pursuance of the plan of life recommended by the principles of that sect, seems to have sacrificed his ambition to his ease and quiet. He had sent some military instructions by way of raillery to Cicero, who was at this time in Cilicia; to which Cicero returns an answer in this letter, in the same jocular manner, A. U. 703.

² [*Pyrrhi te libros et Cineae.*] This Pyrrhus can be no other, than he, who was king of Epirus, and one of the greatest captains of antiquity. For Plutarch in his life of him mentions Cineas as his lieutenant, and a person of great service to him in his wars; and though we do not read in any other place of any writings of his upon the science of war, yet it is not unlikely, but that some were handed about under his name. For Donatus tells us, that he was the first, who taught the method of drawing up an army, *from a Game at Chess*; and Hannibal either preferred him to all other generals, or ranked him next to Alexander. Plutar. in vit. Pyrrh. Liv. lib. 35. 14. Donatus in Terent. Eunuch. 4. 7.

[*Nunc ades ad imperandum*] that is, *nunc ades, ut tibi imperaretur*. This passive use of *imperandum* is not very common; Manutius indeed quotes an instance from Sallust, de Bell. Ju. c. 66. *Fugurtha——cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum*. But there is another reading of the place, which is much better: *cum ipse ad imperatorem Tisidium vocaretur*. But though we cannot produce any instances of this expression, from the latin writers, which are now extant,
yet

yet it was undoubtedly in use among the Romans. vid. Servium in Eclog. 8. Virg. If the MSS did not agree in retaining these words: *sic enim antiqui loquebantur*, I should be inclined to imagine, that they were originally a marginal annotation.

³ *A. Q. Fabio fratre proscriptum esse.*] *Aedem* or *fundum proscribere*, signifies to put a house or estate up to sale, by public advertisements. Thus Pliny Epist. lib. 7. 27. *deserta inde et damnata solitudine domus, totaque illi monstro relicta; proscribebatur tamen, seu quis emere, seu quis conducere vellet*. M. Fabius is the same person, who is recommended to Coelius, Ep. 14. lib. 8.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *Electarunt me tuae literae.*] Paetus had advised Cicero to accommodate his behavior to the times, and to use more caution in his conversation, than he heard he did. Cicero returns him answer in this letter, that he took care never to give any offence, and did not think that he had any reason to be under any apprehensions of danger, either from Caesar or his friends. He most probably wrote this letter in the year U. C. 707, a little before the return of Caesar from the African war.

² *Sic enim color.*] vid. Epist. 29. lib. VII.

³ *Quamobrem Oenomaos.*] Paetus, in his letter to Cicero, had quoted some lines out of a play of Accius, which seems either to have declared the danger of exciting the envy and ill will of persons in power, or delivered some instructions, how to behave ourselves towards them. Cicero therefore tells Paetus, that though it was quoted with great propriety, *loco, opportune*; yet with regard to himself was quite unnecessary. Oenomaus, the subject of this tragedy of Accius, was a king of Elis and Pisa, and father of Hippodamia, who was won by Pelops in a chariot

race, by which her father lost his life and kingdom. Hygin. fab. 84.

⁴ *Non, ut olim solebat, Atellanum, sed ut nunc fit, minimum introduxisti.*] *Atellanus* was an actor of those kind of plays, which were called *ludi Atellani*, from *Atella*, a town in Campania, from whence the Romans first borrowed them. They were satirical kind of farces, carried on with great decency, and introduced upon the stage at the end of the more serious dramatical performances. But these in length of time, as the manners of the people grew more corrupt and depraved, degenerated into low buffoonery and indecent wit. Cicero therefore jocosely tells *Paetus*, that he had introduced in his letter, *non Atellanum*, not decent and polite wit, agreeably to the practice of the ancients; but *minimum*, low humor and buffoonery; for why do you tell me of a *Polypus*, a dish to be purchased at so small a price as a denarius, or of your potted cheese? I used indeed formerly to bear with such entertainment, out of good nature; but now circumstances are changed: I eat with the rich and luxurious; *Hirtius* and *Dolabella* receive instructions from me in speaking, and I, in return sup with them. The MSS. read *Popilium*; but it is probable, that *Polypum* is the true reading, from what is said below: *volo videre animum, qui mihi audeat—appondere—Polypum miniani Jovis similem*. *Epist. ad Attic. lib. 4. 8. 14, 16.*

⁵ *Tu autem, quod mihi bonam copiam ejures.*] *Alicui bonam copiam ejurare*, signifies to declare upon oath, that you have not wherewithall to answer the demands, which are made upon you. *Paetus* jocosely swore to *Cicero* in his letter, that if he used himself to live in so luxurious a manner, as it was reported he did, he was unable to entertain him; *ejuravit bonam copiam*. And *Cicero* in return tells him, that his oath shall be of no service to him; for he is determined to visit him. But desires him, that since he has lately

lately born a loss in his fortune with so much patience, not to entertain him, as he would a debtor, that came to bring him a valuation of his effects. For, *though my visit to you, says he, may make you poorer, yet you ought to consider, that you grow poorer for the convenience of a friend.* This is a very obscure place, and I am not certain whether I have explained it right. But, however, Cicero certainly alludes to a late institution of Caesar, which decreed, that the estates of all debtors should be valued at the value they bore, when the civil war broke out; and that their debts should be paid out of them, agreeably to that valuation; and likewise, that whatever interest-money had been paid during that time, it should be reckoned in part of payment of the principal debt. By this means the creditors were considerable losers; and it is probable, that Paetus had lately suffered upon that account. Sueton. in Jul. c. 42. Gronovius reads: *patiebar* or *ferebam*, instead of *faciebam*.

⁶ *Miniani Jovis similem.*] There was in the Capitol an earthen image of Jupiter, which had been placed there by Tarquinius Priscus, and was usually colored with vermilion upon festival days. Pliny alludes to this practice in two places. Lib. 3. c. xxxv. 45. *Tarquinius Priscus effigiem Jovis in Capitolio dicandam. Fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari solitum.* vid. et. xxxiii. 7.

⁷ *In promulside.*] The *Coena* or principal meal of the ancient Romans may be divided into three parts, the *ante-coena*, *coena*, and *mensae secundae*. The *ante-coena* was called *gustatio*, *gustus*, or *promulsis*; which last name it acquired from the *mulsum* or mixture of wine and honey, which they usually drank at the beginning of supper. The *gustatio* or *promulsis* generally consisted of the *mulsum*, lettings, oysters, olives, and other things, that were proper to create an appetite. There are the bills of two an-

cient entertainments in Petronius Arbiter and Macrobius, in each of which there is a particular account of the *promulsis* or *gustatio*. Petron. c. 31. Macrob. lib. 3. 13. Stuckii Antiq. convival. lib. 3. c. 1.

³ *Salis enim satis.*] Papirius had written Cicero word, that the Villa, which he had some thoughts of purchasing, had *salinas* or salt-works. Cicero jocosely replies, that he had *salis satis*, but the misfortunes of the commonwealth afforded him little matter to exercise his wit: for that I believe is the meaning of *Sannionum parum*.

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *CUM essem otiosus.*] Cicero wrote this letter A.U. 707, when Caesar was returning from Africa; for he tells Paetus in a jocosely manner, that he received his pleasant letter in the midst of the greatest leisure; for he had sent his scholars Hirtius, Dolabella, and others, to meet Caesar. He adds likewise the reasons, which determined him to open a school of rhetoric, in imitation of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse.

² *Caeteri quidem.*] Pompey, and Lentulus, who was consul when the civil war broke out, were both killed by the hands of Ægyptian slaves; Scipio, after the African war, wandered about with his fleet for some time, and was at last destroyed upon the coast of Spain. Afranius was killed after he had been taken prisoner in Spain, in a sedition of the soldiers. But Cato, as it is well known, killed himself at Utica. Plutarch. in vit. Pom. Caes. de bel. civ. 3. Hirt. de Bel. Afr. Sueton. in J. Caes. c. 75. Plut. in vit. Cat.

³ *Ateriano jure.*] This alludes to some secret history, with which we are not acquainted. But it is highly probable, that Aterius was a lawyer, and that Cicero plays with the ambiguous meaning of the word *jus*,
it

it having a different meaning with the Cooks and Civilians.

⁴ Προλεγόμενας.] Προλεγόμενα or *praedieta*, signify generally *prefaces to books*, which contain either a bill of fare of what the reader is to expect, or explain some things necessary to be known, before he begins the book. But, if it is the true reading in this place, it seems to relate to some instructions in rhetoric, which Paetus pleasantly desired to receive from Cicero, before he undertook the office of an assistant in his school. Manutius interprets it to relate to the entertainments of Hirtius, which were to instruct Papirius what sort of entertainments would be expected from him. Dr. Mead's MS. as usual, hath not the Greek word.

⁵ *Æstimationes tuas vendere non potes.*] Paetus seems to have written word to Cicero, that he could not come to Rome till he had sold the estates of his debtors, which he had received in payment of their debts, upon the valuation established by the late law of Caesar. See rem. 5. ep. 16.

⁶ *Quum Cantherium comedisti.*] *Cantherius* signifies a gelding. *Equus, cui testiculi imputantur.* vid. Festum. et Varro de re rustic. 11. 7. *Since you have devoured your horse,* says Cicero, *you may come upon your mule, and you shall have a seat and cushion in my school.*

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *TAMEN a malitia non discedis.*] Balbus in his return from Africa, called upon Paetus at Naples, and expressed great satisfaction with the entertainment, which he had received. Paetus, with his usual jocoseness, wrote Cicero word of it; and insinuated, that if one of Caesar's first favorites could be contented with what he could give him; certainly a plain consular ought to be. Cicero answers him in this letter with his usual pleasantry and humor.

Reeta

² *Recta enim a porta.*] This reading is in Dr. Mead's MS. But a reading, which Lambin met with in one of his books, is, in the opinion of Graevius, better: *recta eum a porta domum meam venisse.*

³ *Ne pluris esse Balbos, quam disertos.*] Think not that our friend deserves a better entertainment than I do; think not that the *Balbi* are of more value than the *diserti*. The humor of this passage is grounded upon the ambiguous meaning of *Balbus*; which signifies a person that hath an impediment in his speech, when it is opposed to *disertus*; and also was the name of this friend of Caesar.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *NON tu homo ridiculus es.*] The MSS. agree in this reading, but the conjecture of Gronovius is better, *nae tu homo ridiculus es.* A report had been spread, that Caesar intended to divide the estates of the Pompeians amongst his soldiers. Paetus, in a letter to Cicero, inquired of the truth of it. Cicero answers him in this letter, and laughs at him for enquiring of him; when he had lately so good an opportunity of informing himself much better from Balbus. This letter was written in the year U.C. 707. that being the fourth year from the beginning of the civil war.

² *Quia de lucro prope jam quadriennium vivimus.*] *De lucro vivere* signifies *vitam ipsam in lucro ponere*, which those persons usually do, who have escaped from any great and impending danger. Thus Livy, lib. 40. c. 8. *de lucro tibi, inquit, vivere me scito.* Horat. Carm. 1. 9.

EPIST. XX.

¹ *ME ut scurram velitem malis oneratum esse.*] *Malis aliquem onerare* signifies *maledicta plurima in aliquem congerere*. Cicero therefore tells Paetus, that he is not displeased with the raillery of his late letter, for he had
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only returned the compliment upon a person, that had frequently provoked him before. For I take that to be the meaning of *scurram velitem malis onerare*. For *velites* often act the same part in an army, that *buffoons and parasites* do at the tables of the great. The buisness of the former being to attack the enemy with their light arms and missive weapons; and of the latter, *jacere dicteria*, to sling their wit and humor at the company; which they often used to do so much beyond the bounds of decency, that in their turns *malis onerarentur*. Hence came the expression *dicteriis, jocos, velitari*. Thus Gellius, lib. 6. 2. *Neque in male-dictis apud impudentes et improbos velitandum*.

² *Promulside conficere*.] Graevius interprets *conficere* to signify the same as *saturare ut nihil amplius possit comedere*; and supports the interpretation by the expressions, *confici desiderio, fame, lacrymis*, which are all very frequent. Lambin reads *confercire*: but the MSS. all retain the reading of the text.

³ *Adversarii nostri castra conjecimus*.] The Epicureans and Academics were irreconcilable enemies to each other.

⁴ *Ad hanc insolentiam*.] *Insolentia* in this place signifies *luxuria, nimii sumptus in conviviiis*. Thus Cicero in another place, Phil. 9. 6. *mirifice enim Ser. Sulpicius majorum continentiam diligebat; hujus seculi insolentiam vituperabat*.

⁵ Ὠψιμαθεῖς.] *Sero discentes*, or, as Horace hath it, *Seri studiorum*. Sat. lib. I. 10.

⁶ *Sportellae et artolagani*.] The Romans had two kinds of entertainments; the one they called *recta coena*; the other *sportula* or *sportella*. Thus Martial, ep. 48. lib. 7.

Promissa est nobis sportula, recta data est.

The *recta coena* was an elegant, splendid, or, what Lucian calls, *δειπνον λυσιτελές*. The other was either more frugal, or else only a distribution of bread, cakes, and other provisions

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vifions of the fame kind. It received its name from the basket, in which provifions were ufually diftributed amongft the people ; for that was called *ſporta* or *ſportula*. Cicero therefore tells Paetus, that he muſt not think to entertain him, as he uſed to do, with cakes, and ſuch fort of food ; for he ſhould expect a ſplendid feaſt. *Artolagani* are cakes made of flower, oil and honey. Vid. Voſſ. Etymol. Stuck. de reb. convival. 1. 35. Plin. lib. 18. 2.

Nos autem artis tantum.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *ex arcis tantum*. Gronovius *ex areis* : but *artis* is the beſt reading; and the meaning is, that Cicero had acquired ſo much ſkill in making entertainments, that he had ventured to invite two of the moſt elegant people in Rome.

⁷ *Jus fervens.*] Whether there is any alluſion to *Aterianum Jus* mentioned in the ſeventeenth letter, or whether there is any other concealed meaning in this place I cannot diſcover.

⁸ *Comedim.*] This ſeems to be the old word for *comedam*; for it is thus written in the MSS. and quoted by Nonius Marcellus.

EPIST. XXI.

¹ *HERI in Cumanum.*] Cicero in his journey from Rome to his Cuman Villa, met Ceparius in the *Silva Gallinaria*, which was ſituated between the mouths of the two rivers Volturnus, and Linternus. Paetus was either in Naples, or in a Villa near Naples. Cluverii Italiae deſcrip. lib. 4. 1101. The date of this letter is uncertain.

EPIST. XXII.

¹ *DUABUS tuis epistolis respondebo.*] This letter ſeems to have been written ſoon after the ſenate had conferred the title of *praefeſtus morum* upon Caesar. For Cicero alludes to it in the letter. But that and ſome other extravagant titles were conferred upon him after the African war. A.U. 707. Dio. lib. 43. But whenever it was written,

written, both Caesar and Cicero were at Rome at the time of writing it.

² *Pergratum tibi perspectum esse gaudeo.*] This is the reading of the MSS. seen by Victorius and Graevius; but evidently imperfect and corrupt. Dr. Mead's is something more full, but far from being right; *intellexi pergratum sententiam et animum meum tibi perspectum esse gaudeo.* The two above-mentioned excellent editors have not attempted to correct the text: but Manutius and Corradus both affirm, that they found the following reading in several MSS. and we must be contented with that for want of better help. *Intellexi pergratam tibi esse curam meam valetudinis tuae: quam tibi perspectam esse gaudeo.*

³ *Primum oblitus Latio.*] That is, *inquinatus ac maculatus latinorum municipum sermone.* Cicero prefers the ancient Roman wit to the Attic; but he observes, that it had lost much of its ancient politeness and elegance by a mixture with foreigners: first, when the inhabitants of Latium were admitted into the freedom of the city, and lately by the same privilege being conferred by Caesar upon Gaul; for *Gallia cisalpina* was called *Gallia braccata*, from a garment worn by the inhabitants in the same manner as *Gallia transalpina* was called *Gallia comata*, from the long hair of the inhabitants. Dio. Cass. 41. 118.

⁴ *Catulum.*] Paetus had urged the example of Q. Lutatius Catulus to Cicero, in order to persuade him not to leave the city, while Caesar was there. This Catulus is most probably the same, that was consul about fifteen years before Cicero A.U.C. 675. and censor 688. He was alive in Caesar's consulship with Bibulus A.U. 694. for Paetus undoubtedly alluded to the disturbances, which happened that year. For at that time Cicero had so much weight and authority, that he might well say, *that he sat at the helm.*

² *Ponor ad scribendum.*] Vid. ep. 8. lib. 8. rem.

⁶ *In denos dies.*] I will make the allowance established by Caesar's sumptuary for one day, serve me for ten days. Vid. ep. 24. lib. VII. rem. 4

EPIST. XXIII.

¹ *ACCUBUERAM hora nona.*] Cicero gives in this letter a pleasant account of an entertainment, to which he had been invited; and where he accidentally supped with Cytheris, a celebrated whore and mistress of Volumnius. She seems to have been the same, who was so much admired by Cor. Gallus, and afterwards kept by M. Antony. Philip 2. 24. ep. 8. lib. x. ad Attic. We may observe here, that the Romans made their principal meal at the ninth hour, or about three in the afternoon; and that at the time of eating, they inclined themselves upon cushions, or low settees, which were large enough to hold three persons. Hence Cicero says, that Atticus was on his right-hand; Verrius on his left, and he himself in the middle; that being the most honorable place.

² *Quod tu unum Ζήτημα.*] *Quaestionem.* This alludes to a piece of pleasantry of Paetus, who, hearing Dio a philosopher profess, after the manner of the old Sophists, that he was ready to answer any question, that should be proposed to him, and boldly demanding *numquis quicquam quaereret?* answered, *Coenam se quaerere a mane:* that he had been inquiring after a place to dine at ever since the morning; whereas, as Cicero observes below, the simple philosopher expected him to propose some obtruse point of philosophy; such a one perhaps as this, whether there were more heavens than one?

³ *Quem adspectabant.*] These lines are quoted more at large in the Tusculan disputations, lib. 3. c. 18. and were written about Telamo in his banishment.

Hiccinæ

*Hiccinē est Telamo ille, modo quem gloria ad coelum extulit,
Quem adspēctabant? cujus ob os Graii ora obvertebant sua?*

*Habeo, inquit, non habeor.] The Greek words are,
ἔχω καὶ ἔχομαι.*

⁴ *Quod in solum.] Whatever comes uppermost. Cicero hath
used this proverb in another place, where the meaning is
clear. Lib. i. de nat. deor. c. 23. abuteris ad omnia atomo-
rum regno et licentia. Hinc quodcunque in solum venit, ut
dicitur, effingis et efficis.*

EPIST. XXIV.

¹ *RUFUM istum.] It is not known who this Rufus is,
who had been recommended by Paetus to Cicero.
But it appears from the letter, that he had communicated
to Paetus some designs against Cicero's life: the first in-
telligence of which Cicero had received from him. This
letter was written in the beginning of the winter A.U. 709.
at which time Cicero was in open enmity with M. An-
tony, who was greatly enraged by the invective orations,
which he spoke against him in the senate, and much ex-
asperated against all the republican party. Some report
therefore probably prevailed at this time, that Antony in-
tended to destroy Cicero, or that he was in danger from
the veteran troops. See life of Cicer. v. 2. 329.*

*Aquini et Fabrateriae.] Aquinum and Fabrateria are two
towns in Latium, the one called now Aquino; the other
Fabratera.*

*Spurina.] A celebrated soothsayer. Vid. ep. 19. lib. vi.
rem. 3.*

EPIST. XXV.

¹ *AN tandem?] There is nothing in this letter, which
determines the date of it; and indeed the knowledge
of the time, when it was written, is not at all necessary
to understand it. The former part is a jocular answer to a
letter*

letter from Paetus, in which he had laughed at his own folly, in endeavouring to imitate the thunder of Cicero's eloquence. And the latter part is a serious confutation of an opinion of his, wherein he had advanced, that there never had been a Papirius, who was not a plebeian.

² *Illud a Trabea, sed potius ἀπότευγμα meum.*] Paetus had applied a passage of Trabea to his own ill success in imitating Cicero; but Cicero tells him, that it may more properly be applied to himself; that the ἀπότευγμα, *aberratio*, or not hitting the mark, at which he aimed, was more his own case, than the case of Paetus. Trabea was a celebrated comic poet: Vulcatius Sedigitus reckoning up ten of the greatest eminence, gives the eight place to this writer: *Trabea octavum obtinet.* A. Gell. lib. 15. 24. I do not know, that there is any thing extant of his works, except what is preserved by Cicero, in the fourth book of his Tusculan disputations, and in the second book *de finibus bonorum et malorum*. Scaliger indeed in his commentary on Varro, *de re rustica*, p. 211. hath quoted some verses for his, which are in reality nothing but a translation of a fragment of Philemon by Muretus, and pretended to have been found by him in an old MS. in Germany. They imposed upon Scaliger: Muretus acknowledged the cheat, and boasted of having deceived a great critic, who had pride and vanity enough to think himself infallible. The lines are very beautiful, and deserve to be quoted:

*Here, si querelis, ejulatu, fletibus,
Medicina fieret miseriis mortalium,
Auro parandae lacrymae contra forent.
Nunc haec ad minuenda mala non magis valent,
Quam Nenia praeficae ad excitandos mortuos.
Res turbidae consilium, non fletum expetunt.*

vid. Muret. Poemat. edit. Ald. 1575.

Fuerunt

³ *Fuerunt enim patricii minorum gentium.*] Those only were properly *patricians*, whose families were members of the senate in the time of the kings, or first consuls, before the commons had obtained an admission into it, by a participation of the public honors. But these were of two sorts, the *patricii majorum gentium*, and the *patricii minorum gentium*. The former were those, whose families were members of the senate in the days of Romulus; and the latter, who were of the families of those persons, who were added to the senate by Tarquinius Priscus. Thus Livy 1. 35. *Nec minus regni sui firmandi, quam augendi memor, centum in Patres legit, qui deinde minorum Gentium sunt appellati.* In the following sentence the two words *consul* and *censor* have undoubtedly changed place. For the Historians agree in placing the consulship of these two persons before their censorship. Liv. 4. 7, 8. Pigh. Ann. A.U. 310.

⁴ *Sed tum Papirii dicebamini.*] Quintilian takes notice also, that the ancient Romans spoke *Valesii*, *Fusii*, &c. instead of *Valerii*, *Furii*. But whether this difference of pronunciation arose from their not having the letter R, or the power of that letter in their alphabet; or from some other accidental change, to which all languages are liable, is not so easy to determine. Learned men, upon the authority of Pomponius, have generally affirmed, that the Romans had neither the character nor power of the letter R, in their alphabet before the time of Appius Claudius, A.U. 405. But this is incredible; for if they had not the power of that letter, how could they have pronounced either the name of their city, or the name of its founder? It is more probable, that Appius Claudius only invented the character, and that the Romans had the power long before, though expressed by another sign. Reasons are not wanting to prove, that the letter D inverted, had the same power in the Etruscan alphabet, which R had after-

wards in the Roman. Hence we find that in some old inscriptions these two letters are used promiscuously. Thus Gruter. DVII. l. 15. ARVORSARIO for ADVORSARIO. And in the decree of the senate concerning the Bacchanals, ARFVERVNT for ADFVERVNT. Hefychius not being acquainted with this, says, that the Etruscans pronounced ΔEA for REA, whereas they did not pronounce it differently from others, but the figure of the Etruscan R was similar to the Greek *Delta*, though the power of it was the same with P or *Rho*. Quintil. lib. I. c. 4. Bonarotti in addit. ad Etrur. regal. Dempst. lib. I. c. I. Mat. Ægypt. in S. C. de Bacchanalibus.

⁵ *Quem Damasippus.*] This Damasippus was praetor of the city, when young Marius was consul, and by his order called a meeting of the senate, as if upon business of importance, and put the principal of them to the sword, A.U. 671. The person who was consul with Marius that year was Cn. Papirius Carbo, who was pursued by Pompey, and killed at Lilybeum.

⁶ *Sutorio Atramento.*] *Atramentum Sutorium* is *Vitriol*. It acquired its name from the property, which an infusion of it in water had, of changing the natural color of things, that were dipped in it, into black; and from its being used by the *Sutores coriarii* in coloring the skins of animals. *Latini denominaverunt atramentum sutorium tum ab effectu, ut puta, ab atro colore, quem facit, quando aqua vel quovis liquore resolutum sit hoc atramentum — cum, et a sutoribus coriariis ad denigrandas pelles usurpatum sit.* Cane- parius de atramentis, p. 145. Though it was always esteemed by the ancients of excellent use in medicine, yet it was reputed a dangerous poison, if taken inwardly, before it had undergone some preparation. Ibid, p. 200.

⁷ *Quam fuerint importuni.*] *Improbi, nequam, violenti.*

EPIST. XXVI.

^r *AMO* *verecundiam vel potius libertatem loquendi.*] Paetus in a letter, to which this is an answer, had made use of an obscene expression, which gave some little offence to Cicero. He therefore tells him, that he loves decency, and a regard to the common and approved forms of expression and behavior; and takes occasion from hence to explain the opinion of the Stoics, who, like the Cynics, laughed at all distinction of words; and asserted, that every thing ought to be called by its proper name. The argument, which they made use of to support their opinion, was this: if there is any real obscenity in nature it must consist, either in the thing itself; or in the word, by which the thing is expressed. But the practice and opinions of mankind clearly shew, that it does not consist in the thing; because there is nothing that can offend the strictest modesty, provided it be described in what are called decent circumlocutions and modest expressions; though the ideas, that are raised, are as clear and determinate, as if the thing had been described by expressions of a contrary nature. Obscenity therefore does not consist in the thing. Nor can it consist in the words: for nothing is more common in all languages, than for a word to have two different meanings; and the rules of politeness and good breeding often allow the use of it in one meaning, though they prohibit it in the other. But if there was any real obscenity in the word, it would offend as much against the above-mentioned rules to use it in the one sense as the other; therefore there is no real obscenity in a word: and to conclude the whole, since it doth not consist either in thing or word, there is no real obscenity in nature. Cicero illustrates this argument by several instances, but concludes upon the whole, agreeably to what he hath delivered in his offices, that as for his own part he

should always pay a regard to the common and established rules of behavior, and think that to be indecent, which hath been declared so by the common consent of mankind. *Ego servo et servabo (sic enim assuevi) Platonis verecundiam.* The pointing therefore, or reading of the first period in the letter, is undoubtedly wrong: the editors have all observed it, and have attempted to correct it; but with as much disagreement from each other, as might be expected from persons, who were guided only by their own fancy, and determined never to agree, where they could possibly avoid it. But, as I have laid down to myself a different rule, and am at any time ready to own, that I cannot produce any thing better, than they have produced before me, without the assistance of the MSS. I shall content myself with acquainting my reader with their conjectures, and leave him to judge for himself. Manutius thinks, that we ought to read; *amo verecundiam, alii potius libertatem loquendi.* Lambin, and, before him, Rutilius, *amo verecundiam, tu potius libertatem loquendi.* Malaspina, in his notes upon the epistles to Q. Cicero, 1, 2. supposes *vel* to be used in the same manner as *an*, and reads the passage interrogatively. *Amo verecundiam, vel potius libertatem loquendi?* But a learned friend of the Abbè Olivet makes an ingenious, though bold alteration; and reads, *amo verecundiam, velut Porticus libertatem loquendi.* He supposes *Porticus* to signify the sect of the Stoics. I hope this long introduction to the letter will excuse me from making any farther comment upon it.

² *Habes scholam stoicam, 'Ο σοφὸς εὐθυρρήμων ἔσθι.]*
You have here a stoical disputation; and if you are a wise man, you will speak plainly, freely, and without any disguise.
 For I do not understand these words with Manutius to be a maxim, whose authority Cicero uses against the opinion of the Stoics; but one made use of by the Stoics in confirmation of their doctrine. Graevius hath well observed,

served, that *schola* signifies *disputatio*, *dissertatio*, and what later writers mean by *tractatus*, a treatise. Cic. Tusc.

3. 34.

³ *Honorem igitur Kalendis Martiis.*] But I reverence the Calends of March. This day is called by Juvenal *Faemineae Kalendae*. Sat. ix. 53. and was the beginning of a festival, which was celebrated by the Roman Matrons in honor of Mars, and called *Matronalia*. It was attended with much the same ceremonies of the women, as the *Saturnalia* were of the men. A large account of the whole may be seen in Ovid. de Fast. lib. 3. 229.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
TENTH BOOK.
EPIST. I.

NON dubito, quin scias.] L. Munatius Plancus was brother to T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, of whom we have had occasion to speak in the foregoing remarks, ep. 2. lib. 7. rem. 2. He was admitted to a large share of Caesar's friendship, and seems to have sincerely attached himself to the support of Caesar's interest, as long as he lived. But after his death he fluctuated for some time under the successive influences of virtue and ambition, not knowing to which party he should join himself; whether to the murderers of his friend, and the restorers of liberty, or to the avengers of his death, and contrivers of tyranny and despotic power. At last his ambition got the better of his virtue, and he joined himself to M. Antony, and became no inconsiderable instrument in ruining the remains of the republican party. In the year U.C. 711. he and Lepidus entered Rome in triumph, not long after they had both consented to the proscription of their brothers. This gave occasion to a severe piece of raillery from the soldiers, who cried out as they passed along;

De Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant consules.

When this letter was written to him, he was most probably with Caesar in Africa A.U. 707.

Ut primum per aetatem judicium facere potueris.] It will not be impertinent to observe, that *judicium facere* is used
in

in this place for *judicare*. Thus also de Invent. 2. 2. *subita ex criminatione, quae confingi facile possit, non ex antea acta vita* facere *judicium*. *Graveius* therefore is mistaken in affirming, that no ancient writer ever used *judicium facere* for *judicare* without the addition of *de homine* or *de re* or something equivalent: and in consequence he ought not to have made that alteration, which he has done of *judicium feceris* into *indicium feceris* in the oration for Flaccus. 37.

Earumque artium.] See rem. 8. ep. 10. lib. 3.

² *C. Ateio Capitone.*] This is the celebrated Ateius Capito, who was tribun of the people A. U. 698, and opposed the giving a commission to Crassus to undertake the parthian expedition. But finding it impossible to prevent it, he waited for him at the gates of the city and, having dressed up a little altar, devoted him to destruction as he marched his army out of the city. Dio. 39. Plut. in Cras. Cicer. de divin. I. 16. Life of Cicero v. I. 478.

Et patuit et temporibus et fortunae mee] Dr. Meads MS. reads: *et paruit et temporibus et fortunae meae*.

³ *Argentum Apolloniae.*] Appollonia was a city in Thrace, which made a part of the province of Macedonia, and consequently within the district, of which Antistius was Quaestor; who was compelled by Pompey to inspect the money, which was coined by his order.

⁴ *Post proelium.*] After the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia.

⁵ *Heres ex parte dimidia et tertia est Capito.*] An inheritance in the Roman law was called *As* and a person, to whom the whole was left, was said to be *Heres ex asse*. But when several persons were appointed Heirs and the inheritance was to be divided in the proportion of their several shares, it was considered as divided into twelve parts, which were called *unciae* and the value of each person's share received its name with a reference to this general and established division. In the present case, for example; Ca-

pito was *heres ex dimidia parte et tertia*, that is, *had six of these twelve parts and a third part or four more* left him by Antistius; the remaining two parts, which are called *sextans*, because they are one sixth of the whole, were left to such persons, for whose interest no one would be concerned, though it was confiscated to the public: for Cicero wanted to secure Capito's legacy, but was intirely unconcerned about the rest, because they were most probably Pompeians. The value of the whole Estate was very considerable, the sixth part being 300000 Sesterces or about 24000*l.* of our money.

Id feci aliorum consilio.] The grammatical construction requires *id fecisse aliorum consilio*. Graevius thinks that it ought to be read so, but upon no authority at all, for the MSS. agree in supporting the common reading, and it is not uncommon to observe in the best writers such inaccuracies as these.

EPIST. II..

ET abfui proficiscens in Graeciam.] After the death of Caesar, Cicero being dissatisfied with the ill management of his own friends, and expecting no good from the Consuls Antony and Dolabella, determined to spend a few months with his son at Athens and not to return to Rome till the new Consuls entered into office. But hearing some good news from Rome, whilst he was upon his voyage, he changed his mind and returned to Rome upon the last day of August. But the situation of Affairs did not answer his expectations. Antony publicly declared himself his Enemy, and the security of his own Life obliged him to retire to some place removed from danger. He seems to have written the present letter to Plancus, who had the government of the further Gaul, and had not yet discovered to which side he should join himself, before he left the city. Cicero had undoubtedly proposed by writing to him to draw
some

some declaration from him in favor of the republican party or at least to prevent his union at present with their enemies. A. U. 709.

² *Consulatus tui.*] Caesar before his death had nominated Plancus and D. Brutus to be Consuls for the year U. C. 711.

³ *Furnium nostrum.*] Vid. Ep. 26. *Judicium* is used a few lines below for *testimonium judicii* or for *Beneficium*, and it signifies a strong testimony of the good opinion, which the person who conferred it, had of him, upon whom it was conferred.

EPIST. III.

¹ *MEUM studium.*] Cicero in this letter excuses himself for not going into the senate, upon some particular business, which had been recommended to him by Plancus; because it was neither consistent with his dignity or safety. He had not therefore yet retired from Rome to his villas near Naples, where he soon went to avoid the danger, which he apprehended from Antony. This letter was therefore most probably written in September, for at that time the rupture between Antony and Cicero was irreconcilable. Antony made his reply to the first philippic oration upon the 19th of that month, and Cicero absented himself from the Senate.

EPIST. IV.

² *CUM ipsum Furnium.*] It appears from Plancus's answer to this letter, which immediately follows it, that it was written either in the latter end of December A. U. 709, or in the beginning of January A. U. 710. Cicero was at Rome. For hearing that Antony had left the city and hastened to put himself at the head of his army, he returned thither upon the 9th of December in order to consult what measures were proper to be taken by the new consuls

suls Hirtius and Panfa, when they entered upon their office. He alludes to no particular affair in this letter; but only encourages Plancus to continue firm to the interests of the republic, upon the security of which all his future glory depended.

² *Quam mihi tecum statuo esse communem.*] The MSS. differ much in the reading of this place, the Medicean MS. hath *quam mihi tecum statuo haberi esse communem*, and upon this authority Victorius thinks, that we ought to read: *quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem*. But Graevius prefers the reading of the MS. and only omits *esse* upon the authority of the Amsterdam MS. and one of his own. But perhaps the reader will prefer the reading of Dr. Mead's MS. to all the others, which is this: *quam mihi tecum statuo studeoque habere communem*.

³ *Servire temporibus.*] This relates to his compliance with Caesar during his life time. But Cicero touches this point with great tenderness.

⁴ *Ostenderem manu.*] Here seems to be some difference in the use of *ostendo* and *ostento*: the former, I think, means a declaration of something real, and what may be openly professed without any breach of decency, the latter is a boasting of something without any foundation or else a boasting of it at an unseasonable time or in an unseasonable manner. Agreeably to this, Cicero opposes *ostentatio* and *veritas* to each other. Orat. 1. cont. Rul. c. 7. *Sperastis, vos contra consulem, veritate, non ostentatione popularem, posse in evertenda republica populares existimari*. See also de Fin. 2. c. 14.

EPIST. V.

¹ *GRATISSIMAE mihi tuae literae.*] Plancus wrote this letter, immediately after he had received the foregoing one from Cicero, for he had not at the time of writing it had any intelligence about the resolutions of the Senate
in

in the month of January. *Quas ex Furnii sermone scripsisse animadverto* is not to be interpreted, as Manutius hath done it: *which I hear from Furnius were written with your own hand*; But, *which I find you wrote upon account of the conversation, which you had with Furnius*. See the beginning of the preceding letter.

²*Ut praeter bonam famam nihil desidero.*] This is an answer to that part of Cicero's letter, wherein he had said: *scis profecto, nihil enim te fugere potuit, fuisse quoddam tempus, cum homines existimarent te servire temporibus.*

³*In Gallia citeriore.*] D. Brutus had the command of this part of Gaul and was actually besieged at Modena about this time by Antony, though Plancus had not yet heard it.

⁴*Occasionem.*] Graece *εὐκαιρία*, latine appellatur occasio. de offic. lib. I. c. 40. Plancus wishes, that the inhabitants of Gaul may not think the present confusions in the state a proper opportunity for them to recover their liberty.

⁵*Meque mutuo diliges.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *meque multo diligas.*

EPIST. VI.

¹*BINAS a te accepi literas.*] Cicero acknowledges the receipt of the foregoing letter from Plancus and expresses the pleasure, which he received, from the free and ingenuous declarations in it.

²*Mihi laetitiam attulerunt.*] This is the reading of Dr. Mead's MS. others read *attulerat*. but the former is the true reading.

³*Id erit totum et proprium tuum.*] Read with an old book seen by Lambin: *id erit totum proprium et tuum.*

EPIST. VII.

¹ *QUAE locutus est Furnius.*] Plancus was now at Lyons at the head of a brave army, and notwithstanding his late declarations to Cicero, began to discover an unsteadiness of temper, which did not at all agree with his former professions of Patriotism. He wrote a public letter to the senate to exhort them to measures of peace and to save the effusion of civil blood by reconciling Antony and his friends to the interest of the republic. This was disagreeable to the senate and Cicero; and gave occasion to this letter from the latter which is dated the 20th of March.

² *Cum Collega tuus.*] D. Brutus.

³ *Nisi qui animo consulari.*] See life of Cicero. v. i. p. 233.

EPIST. VIII.

¹ *SI cui forte videor diutius.*] Plancus had sent in the beginning of March a public letter to the senate upon the subject of peace, which Cicero answered with some sharpness in the foregoing letter. But he seems to have been apprehensive, that the proposals which he then made, would meet but with a cool reception and be interpreted to contain a tacit declaration against the interests of the republican party: and it was too soon to have that known. He wrote therefore this letter to remove any suspicions, which might have been raised by the other, and declares that he had all along been uniformly pursuing the interests of the republic, though his character may have appeared doubtful to persons, who were unacquainted with the real motives, by which he had been influenced.

² *Magna in spe.*] This reading is preferred by Victorius to the other: *magna mihi ipse*; and it is confirmed by Dr. Mead's MS. The same MS. reads in the next page *opus fuit* instead of *opus fuerunt*.

³ *Cen-*

³ *Confirmandus erat exercitus nobis.*] M. Antony had often tempted the army to revolt to him.

⁴ *C. Furnio.*] This is a tacit apology for the letter, which he sent to recommend a reconciliation with Antony. See the beginning of the preceding letter.

⁵ *Curam reipublicae summae.*] Thus ep. 20. *cavebo, ne mea credulitate respublica summa fallatur.*

⁶ *Ipsè ita sum animo paratus, ut vel.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads this passage thus: *Ipsè ita sum animo paratus, vel provinciam tueri—ut vel omnem impetum—non recusè.* Other MSS. insert *ut* in the place, where it is in the text. But Graevius reads the whole thus: *ipse sum animo paratus, vel provinciam tueri—vel omnem impetum belli in me convertere, si modo meo casu aut confirmare patriae salutem, aut periculum possim morari.*

EPIST. IX.

¹ *PLURA tibi de meis consiliis scriberem.*] It hath been commonly thought, that this and the preceding letter were sent together; but as far as I can judge from an attentive reading of these letters, Plancus seems to have sent a third letter to the senate which is not now extant, a few days after he had sent the second; and this seems to have been sent to Cicero at the same time.

EPIST. X.

¹ *ETSI satis ex Furnio.*] This appears to me to be the letter which Cicero wrote to Plancus upon the senate's receiving his second letter. For in that he appealed to the testimony of his friend Furnius, who was able to explain any doubtful parts of his behavior: and the beginning of this letter is a direct answer to that part of the second letter from Plancus. The two consuls Hirtius and Panfa were both in Gaul, and waiting to attempt a decisive

five battle with Antony, in order to deliver D. Brutus from the danger he was in at Modena.

Jam decretum arbitrabar fore.] That is, *depugnatum*; for *decernere* is often used absolutely for *praelium committere, depugnare*. Thus Caesar de Bel. civ. 3. 4. *postridie educ-tis omnibus copiis, acie instructa, decernendi potestatem Pompeio fecit.*

EPIST. XI.

¹ *ETSI reipublicae causa.*] This is an answer to that letter, which Cicero received from Plancus at the same time, that the senate received the third letter from him. Cicero acquaints him, with the reception which his letter met with in the senate, and their resolutions in consequence of it; and concludes with an earnest exhortation to pursue with steadiness and resolution the true interest of his country. This letter was written, if the date which is fixed to it is the true reading, upon the eleventh of April; and if it is not, it could not have been written many days either sooner or later than that.

² *Et eas, quas publice.*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *et eas, quas publice legi*. And though the last word is an addition, which is not found in many other books, yet the others support the reading of the text against Gebhardus, who omits *et eas*, and reads *quas publice*.

³ *Eum auspiciis operam dedisse.*] The right of taking the auspices, which were necessary in all meetings of the senate, and other affairs of importance devolved in the absence of the consuls to Cornutus the praetor. He seems not to have concurred heartily with Cicero in procuring the honors, which he intended for Plancus, and therefore made use of this artifice to defer the debate.

⁴ *Eo autem die.*] P. Servilius, who gave so much disturbance to Cicero in this affair, was the son of that Servilius, who acquired the name of Isauricus by his conquest near
mount

mount Taurus. He was consul with Caesar A.U. 705. See life of Cicer. v. 2. 411. ep. 62. XIII. Cicero sent Brutus an account of this day's debate; and from that letter we learn, that an unexpected piece of news about Cassius, and the legions under his command in Syria, determined the senate to assent to the motion in favor of Plancus. Vid. ep. 3. ad Brut. edit. Middleton.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *N* *NIHIL me tibi temere.*] Plancus returns an answer to Cicero in this letter; makes new and strong assurances of his sincerity, and acquaints him with his having already begun to march his army to the assistance of his colleague D. Brutus. See life of Cicer. v. 2. 408.

Ita ab imminentibus malis respublica, me adjuvante liberetur.] This is an elegant and common form of asseveration made use of by Cicero and other good writers. Thus in the foregoing letter; *ita te victorem complectar, respublica recuperata, ut magnam partem mihi laetitiae tua dignitas affert.* Graevius hath referred to many more instances of this kind of expression; but it will be sufficient to have just taken notice of it, they being so obvious to every reader.

Concupisco nihil mihi.] Read this whole sentence thus; *concupisco nihil mihi, contraque ipse pugno.*

² *Ab Lepido.*] See rem. upon ep. 28. of this book.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *O* *Gratam famam.*] Though I have placed this letter in this situation, yet I own it may be doubted, whether it is the true one. But however, it was undoubtedly in a wrong place before, and the order which I have now given it, appears to me to be the least liable to exception. Cicero answers the preceding letter, and hints at the defeat of Antony before the walls of Modena, not doubting
but

but Plancus was as well acquainted with the circumstances as himself. This is the first letter, which Cicero wrote to Plancus after the arrival of that news at Rome.

Reipublicae temporibus admonitum.] The MSS. and principal editions agree in this reading, and Gronovius supposes the construction to be this; *sperabam Lepidum — tecum facturum et reipublicae esse satisfacturum*. But Graevius reads the whole thus; *sperabamque etiam Lepidum, reipublicae temporibus admonitum, tecum esse facturum*. *Satis* is omitted in two of his MSS. and he thinks *et reipublicae* to be only an accidental repetition borrowed from the preceding part of the sentence.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *UT primum potestas data.*] This letter was undoubtedly written after the news of Antony's defeat before Modena; for Cicero alludes to that affair, when he intreats him, *contexere extrema cum primis*, to complete that which had been begun by the two consuls and D. Brutus; therefore it is rightly placed after that, which precedes it.

² *Ego quanquam ex tuis literis.*] Vid. ep. 12. Dr. Mead's MS. reads three lines below; *tamen nobis considerandum existimavi*.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *IMMORTALES ago gratias.*] Plancus returns thanks to Cicero in this letter for the friendly offices, which he had done for him in the senate, and gives fresh assurances of his zeal for the good of the republic. It was written after the twenty-sixth of April A.U. 710, but it is not easy to determine how long after that time.

² *Cum Rhodanum copias trajecissem.*] Plancus fixes his time of passing the Rhone upon the 26th of April. vid. ep. 12. *exercitum ad kal. sext. Maias Rhodanum trajeci*. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *copias transmisissem*. see life of Cicero, vol. 2. 416.

Alterum

³ *Alterum exercitus.*] The soldiers in general retained a great affection for the Cæsarean party: some of the veteran legions enlisted themselves under the banner of Octavius upon his first appearance; and many of those, which continued under the other leaders, were not to be trusted in the support of the republic. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 264. 324. Lepidus made their behavior an excuse for his own treachery, ep. 30. and Plancus gives it as a plausible reason for his halting in the country of the *Allobroges*; who were a people that inhabited all that tract of *Gallia Narbonensis*, which lies between the *Rhodanus*, the *Isara*, and the *Lacus Lemanus*. Vienna, situated upon the Rhone, was the principal town of the division, and *Cularo* or *Gratianopolis*, upon the *Isara*, was the southern extremity; and *Geneva*, upon the *Leman lake*, was the northern extremity. Caesar is positive in asserting the last: de B. Gal. lib. i. c. 6. *extremum oppidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus, Geneva*. And concerning the other see Strabo, lib. iv. and Remark 5. upon ep. 24. of this book.

⁴ *Interpretibusque.*] *Interpres* originally signified a person who went between the buyer and seller, in order to fix and secure the value of the thing to be sold; and answers to that person, whom the Greeks called *προπράτωρ* or *προπώλης*. Hence, in a more extensive use, it came to signify all those persons, who were employed either in making a contract, or transacting any affair whatever between two others. Juno in Virgil, who promoted the affair between Dido and Æneas, is called by the former *interpres curarum*; or, as it is explained by Servius, *media et conciliatrix curarum*. Æneid. 4. 608.

Tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Juno.

And not only Laterensis, whose business it was to work a reconciliation between Plancus and Lepidus, is called by Plancus *interpres*; but also Gavianus, in the seventeenth

letter, hath the same name given to him; *quo ego interprete novissime ad Lepidum sum usus.*

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *HIS literis.*] This appears to me to have been written immediately after that, which precedes it; and gives an account of some fresh intelligence, which he had received; and of his own motions in consequence of it. It is not unlikely, but that these two letters were sent together.

² *Itaque in Isara, flumine maximo.*] This river was the southern boundary of the country of the Allobroges. It rises in the Alps, and empties itself into the Rhone, not far distant from Valentia. To this Lucan alludes, lib. 1. 399.

*Et vada liquerunt Isarac, qui gurgite ductus
Per tam multa suo famae majoris in amnem
Lapsus ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas.*

Forum Julii.] Plin. lib. 3. c. 4. *Forum Julii, octavianorum Colonia, quae Pacensis appellatur, et classica: annis in ea Argenteus.* It was a town in Gallia Narbonensis, situated at the mouth of the river Argenteus.

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *ANTONIUS Id. Maii.*] M. Antony arrived at Forum Julii upon the fifteenth of May, in his flight from Modena; at which place he was overtaken by Ventidius, who was a creature intirely devoted to his interest, and had been employed by him for some time past, in gathering soldiers up and down Italy, in order to have joined him before Modena; but had been prevented doing that by his unexpected defeat. He was a person of mean extraction, for he is called by Plancus, in the nineteenth letter, *Mulio*, or the mule-driver, but was made consul before

before the end of this year U.C. 710. upon the resignation of Octavius.

² *Fratrem meum.*] Plancus gives two reasons for dismissing his brother; the one is the bad state of his health, which rendered him unserviceable in the army; and the other, his being one of the praetors, and consequently wanted at Rome, upon account of the death of the two consuls.

³ *Quo obside, fide illius et societatis.*] *Fide* is said to be used for *fidei*; for that is not an uncommon termination of the genitive case. We ought therefore to take away *the comma* after *obside*, and understand, that Lepidus had sent Apella to Plancus, as an hostage or pledge of his own integrity and willingness to join him, in the cause of the republic. The three brothers, which are mentioned in this place, are most probably Caius, Marcus, and Lucius Antonius.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *NIHIL post hominum memoriam gloriosius.*] Plancus was not less diligent in acquainting the senate of his motions, than in acquainting Cicero. The public letters, to which Cicero alludes in this place, are not now extant; but from the reception, with which they met, it appears, that they were warm declarations of his regard to the interest of his country, and full of resolutions to pursue it by all the means, which he should judge most probable to promote it. Cicero informs him of a decree of the senate in his favor, and encourages him to follow his own judgment, without waiting for their authority.

² *Flagitare senatus institit Cornutum.*] Graevius hath well observed, that *flagitare institit* is the same as *flagitare coepit*. Thus Terence Hecyr. 3. 3. *Hanc habere orationem mecum principio institit*; that is, *hanc habere orationem mecum principio coepit*, or *hanc orationem habuit*. For *coepit habere* is the same as *habuit*, and therefore *coepit flagitare*

is equivalent to *flagitavit*. Let it be observed here, that when Cornutus, the presiding magistrate in the senate, refused to make the motion about Plancus's letters, five of the tribuns did it without his consent. For this was a privilege, that was claimed by all the magistrates, and frequently exerted. Mid. on the Rom. senate. p. 156.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *QUID in animo habuerim.*] Plancus explains in this letter the motives, which determined him to join M. Lepidus. It was written about the latter end of May, A. U. 710.

² *Sciebam enim.*] Dr. Mead's MS, and most of the other MSS, agree with the reading of the text. But H. Stephens, Lambin, and Manutius read it in the following manner: *Sciebam enim, etsi cautius illud erat consilium, expectare ad Isaram, dum Brutus trajiceret exercitum, et cum collega consentiente, exercitu concordi, et bene de republica sentiente hostibus obviam ire.* Plancus expected, that D. Brutus would have pursued Antony after his defeat at Modena, and have crossed the Alps in order to have joined him.

³ *Ventidique Mulionis.*] vid. Ep. 17. h. l.

Uno loco me tenerem.] Rutilius reads with great sagacity *nisi uno loco metaremur.*

EPIST. XX.

¹ *PUDERET me inconstantiae.*] Plancus wrote this letter two days after that, which precedes it, and gives an account of the inconstancy and irresolution of Lepidus. He had been pressing Plancus, to make all the haste he could to join him, both by letters and messengers; but hearing, that he was marching towards him, and within a few days of joining him, he forbade him to approach any nearer.

Rei-

² *Reipublicae summae.*] Read with Lambin *respublica summa*. vid. Ep. 8.

De laude jejuni hominis.] That is, *hominis invidi, malevoli*. vid. Ep. 3. lib. 3. Rem.

³ *Suam fidem esse solutam.*] That is, *that he had satisfied his engagements to his country, had fulfilled his promise*. For *solvere fidem* doth not signify, as it is commonly supposed, the same as *rumpere fidem*; but quite the contrary, *servare fidem, promissa praestare*. The instance in this letter is sufficient to prove it; but I shall take the liberty to add one or two more: Plin. lib. 2. Epist. 12. *Implevi promissum, priorisque epistolae fidem exsolvi*. Thus also Ariadne in Ovid tells Theseus, that if he had killed her, he would have paid the debt, which he owed her, by her death. Ep. x. 77.

*Me quoque, qua fratrem, mactasses, improbe, clava,
Esset, quam dederas, morte soluta fides.*

There is indeed a passage in Terence, where it appears, at first view, to have a contrary meaning; but a little attention will discover, that it is used ironically in that place. Andr. 4. 647.

Ita ne; imprudens! tandem inventa est causa: solvisti fidem.

⁴ *Duobus jam coss. singularibus occisis.*] Read *duobus jam consulibus, singularibus viris, occisis*. Dr. Mead's MS. retains *singularibus* as well as all the other, except one, which is of little credit. It is therefore more likely, that *viris* hath through negligence been omitted in the text, than that *singularibus* should have been inserted, as Grævius supposes; and every one knows, that *singularis* and *virī singulares* are frequent in Cicero.

⁵ *Defuturum.*] vid. Gell. 1. c. 7. Sanctii Miner. lib. 3. 11,

EPIST. XXI.

IN te et in collega.] It is not easy to determine, whether this letter was written before D. Brutus joined Plancus with his army, or after. The former appears to me at present most probable. But, which ever is true, it is an answer to a letter from Plancus, wherein he had desired to be nominated one of the commissioners for dividing the lands among the soldiers, after the conclusion of the war. Cicero with all his interest could not procure this; for they excepted all persons who had the command of an army, as improper to be employed in such an office.

^a *Uti eo.]* That is, *uti eo senatus consulto,*

EPIST. XXII.

Quanquam gratiarum actionem.] This letter was probably written about the same time, but it is impossible to fix the date with any certainty, for want of the letters from Plancus, to which it is an answer.

EPIST. XXIII.

ITA erant omnia.] Cicero and his friends at Rome were under great anxiety at present about Lepidus; they always suspected his sincerity; but as the necessity of his declaring for one side or the other grew nearer, they began to be under greater apprehensions of the dangers, which would unavoidably be the consequence of his determining wrong. Cicero therefore in this letter desires Plancus to send them certain intelligence, whether he had joined Antony or not. He wrote it upon the 29th of May; he had not therefore, at the time of writing it, received the letter from Plancus, which gave an account of
his

his being prohibited by Lepidus, to approach any nearer. For that was written after the 24th of the same month.

² *Propter inanem laetitiam.*] This relates to the sixteenth letter.

³ *Bis ad eundem.*] That is, *Bis ad eundem Lapidem offendere turpe est.* vid. Erasmi Adag.

EPIST. XXIV.

¹ *NUNQUAM mehercule.*] Plancus excuses himself in this letter, for giving so much credit to Lepidus, as he had done; and informs Cicero of the measures, which he himself took, in consequence of his joining Antony upon the 29th of May. This letter was written upon the 6th of June.

Nam si uno loco essem.] For if I continued in one place. Manutius and Lambin both read: *nam nisi uno loco essemus.*

² *Lepidus, desperato adventu meo.*] This seems to contradict that, which he wrote in a former letter. For there he says, that Lepidus forbid him to come near him: *praesto mihi fuit stator ejus cum literis, quibus ne venirem denunciabat, se posse per se conficere negotium, interea ad Isaram expectarem.* Ep. 20.

³ *Laterensis nostri.*] vid. Vellei. Pater. lib. 2. Dio. 46.

⁴ *Elapsus sum bis.*] Read and point this passage thus: *magno cum dolore parricidarum elapsus sum. ii veniebant enim, &c.* Dr. Mead's Manuscript and several other read *iis.*

⁵ *Cularone.*] Cularo is a town situated upon the banks of the Isara, in the same place, where Gratianopolis is now, as appears from two ancient inscriptions upon the gates of the town, and to be seen in Gruter. CLXVII. 1.

EPIST. XXV.

¹ *FACERE non possum.*] This letter is dated upon the 28th of July, and it may be the true date for any thing that appears to the contrary in the letter, Plancus expresses a grateful sense of his obligations to Cicero, and begs him to use all his interest to procure some fresh supplies of men; for though his own army, and that under the command of D. Brutus, was very numerous, yet the greater part of each of them was made up of raw and unexperienced soldiers, and not to be trusted in a battel, by which the fate of the republic would be determined.

² *Indulgentia.*] The Manuscripts agree in this reading, and *indulgentia* seems to signify the same as *obsequium* in this place; Lambin therefore ought not to have changed it into *diligentia* in his edition, since it is twice used in the same sense in this letter.

³ *Octo Tironum.*] Dr. Meads hath *octo millia Tironum*.

⁴ *Quod ad Caesaris amorem.*] Plancus declares his suspicions of Octavius and, that, in his opinion, it was only owing to him, that Antony survived the defeat at Modena, and was able to give them any further trouble; for Octavius instead of pursuing Antony and cutting him off, before he had collected his scattered troops, or united himself to Ventidius, directed his march towards Rome, and demanded the consulship in the room of one of the deceased consuls by a deputation of his officers, with a rough centurion at their head; who, when not a single magistrate or senator could be induced to make the motion in the senate, to grant his demand, throwing back his gown and laying his hand upon his sword, bluntly declared, *that if they would not make him consul, that should.* Sueton, c. 26. ep. ad Brut. 19. life of Cic. v. 2. 457. -

⁵ *Consulatus bimestris.*] Plancus must not be understood to speak accurately in this place. For Octavius was chosen

sen consul with Q. Pedius his kinsman in the latter end of August and consequently, if, he had not resigned, would have had about four months possession of the consulship.

⁶ *Ut exigeret cum eo.*] Exigere hath often the same signification as the simple *agere* and therefore Lambinus ought not to read in this place: *ut ageret cum eo.* thus Pliny ep. 12. lib. 5. *Ex illis enim vel praecipue sentio, quantopere me diligas, cum sic exegeris mecum, ut solitus cum tuo filio.* Again ep. 28. lib. 1x. Gronovius hath produced some more instances, but these are sufficient to justify the reading of the text.

E P I S T. XXVI.

¹ *SI interest.*] C. Furnius, to whom this letter is written, was tribun of the people A. U. 703. and at this time A. U. 710. lieutenant to Plancus in Gaul. He had a design to come to Rome to offer himself a candidate for the praetorship at the ensuing election; but Cicero thinking it more for the interest of the republic, for him to continue, where he was for the present, advises him to defer his petition till the following year, when his friend Plancus would be consul. There was a person of this name a great favourite of Augustus and consul A. U. 736. He was most probably son to Plancus's friend and the same, who is mentioned by Horace in that illustrious catalogue of learned friends, to whose judgement he desired to submit his writings. Sat. 1. x. 86.

— *Simul his te, candide Furni.*

² *Celeritati praeturae anteponendum.*] Read with Graevius *anteponenda.* The MSS. support this reading. Dr. Meads hath *anteponendeam* others *anteponendo.*

E P I S T. XXVII.

¹ *LECTIS tuis literis.*] Cicero continues to intreat Furnius in this letter not to desert his command in the province in order to pursue his pretensions at Rome, to the de-

detriment of the republic, in so critical a conjuncture. And tells him, that he is not displeased, that Plancus and D. Brutus had avoided a hazardous battle with Antony, which would have determined the fate of the republic. For I think the first part of the letter alludes to some such intelligence as that, which Furnius had sent Cicero, and that *illud* ought to be referred in the construction to *aut cum periculo dimicandum*.

EPIST. XXIII.

QUOD mihi.] M. AEmilius Lepidus, who after the death of Caesar went into the province of Spain, and had a powerful army there, was a weak, inconstant, and ambitious man; and Cicero, whose great wisdom and experience enabled him thoroughly to judge of the characters of men, knew that there was little dependance either upon his resolution or integrity; but was aware, that his present situation rendered him of great importance, to which ever side he should join himself. He had therefore been endeavoring to secure him to the republic, and had procured a decree of the senate in his favor, *of a gilt equestrian statue in the Rostra*; hoping by this address to his vanity, and testimony of their confidence to confirm him in their interest. But Lepidus aiming at a higher degree of power, than either the senate was able, or willing to confer upon him, wrote a public letter to the senate to exhort them to measures of peace and a reconciliation with Antony, without making any acknowledgement for the extraordinary honours of their late decree. This gave occasion to the present letter from Cicero, who blames him for his silence with regard to that point, and for recommending peace without securing the liberties of the R. people.

² *Impotentissimi dominatus.*] *Impotentissimus* signifies tyrannical, violent, oppressive. Ep. 23. l. IV. Rem. 4.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXIX.

¹ *CUM audissem Antonium.*] Lepidus seems to have begun a correspondence with Antony, and to have had a reconciliation in view, immediately after the battle of Modena. But he endeavored to conceal his intentions from the senate, and even in this letter, which was not written above a week, before he and Antony united their armies, he professes a zeal for the interest of the republic and a resolution of opposing Antony's march. The style, which is used in the inscription of the letter, is: M. LEPIDUS IMPERATOR ITERUM PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. Victorius thinks, that he assumed the former part, because he had been saluted *Emperor* a second time, by his own soldiers. But Manutius is of opinion that the MSS. are mistaken in the reading of ITERUM because it was not the custom in *free Rome* to enumerate the times, of being saluted *Emperor*. And indeed there is little dependance upon the inscriptions of the letters in the Manuscripts: but with regard to the reason which he gives, it hath no weight with me; because though it was not the practice in the settled state of the republic, yet in such times of confusion as these, Lepidus would have been no more scrupulous of using this title, than he had been of seizing the high priesthood, vacant by Caesar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election. And there is in fact a coin of Lepidus now extant, with this legend: IMPERATOR ITERUM. Vail. Num. fam. Rom.

² *Ad Forum Vocontium.*] We ought to read here *Forum Voconium*. For the *Vocontii* are a people of *Gallia Narbonensis* in the neighbourhood of the *Allobroges*; but *Forum Voconii* is a town situated upon the river *Argenteus*, twenty four miles distant from *Forum Julii*, a town at the mouth of the river. Thus Plancus, ep. 17. *Lepidus ad Forum*

Forum Voconii castra habet, qui locus a Foro Julii quatuor et viginti millia passuum abest. Lepidus tells Cicero, that he had marched *ab confluyente Rhodano*; that is, from the place where *the Rhone* and *the Arar* unite, or from *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*, which was situated at the confluence of those two rivers. Thus Strabo, 129. *The Rhone*, says he, *συμβάλλει τῷ Ἀραρί κατὰ Λέγδουνον.* vid. Gruter. Inscript. ccccxxxix. 8.

Ita ut sint amplius equitum.] The number of horse is not found in any MS.

Silanus et Culeo.] vid. Epist. 32. Dio. 46.

EPIST. XXX.

¹ *SI vos liberique vestri valetis.*] Lepidus joined Antony upon the 29th of May, and wrote this letter to the senate, the day after, to excuse himself for the step, which he had taken, and to lay all the blame upon the violence of the soldiers.

² *In civibus observandis.*] Dr. Mead's MS. agrees with the rest in reading *observandis*, and it is used in the same sense as the uncompounded word *servandis*. Victorius and Graevius are both of opinion, that it ought to be retained in the text upon the Authority of the MSS.

³ *Ut vere dicam, coegit.*] See letter 16th of this book, wherein Plancus delivers his opinion about the state of Lepidus's army.

EPIST. XXXI.

¹ *DE mea studio erga salutem.*] I do not in the least doubt, but that the reading of the inscription of this letter ought to be M. T. C. APPIO SAL. and that it is the same Appius Claudius, who is recommended to the protection of D. Brutus, Ep. 10. lib. xi. Almost all the Manuscripts, and Dr. Mead's in particular, support me in this conjecture. For they read *Appio*, and not *Ampio*.

Ampio. The occasion of writing this letter may be seen in that, to which I have referred in the eleventh book.

EPIST. XXXII.

¹ *SEPTIMO decimo kal. Maii.*] Ser. Sulpicius Galba, a descendant of Ser. Galba, the famous orator, who is so often mentioned by Cicero in his rhetorical works, and grandfather to Galba the emperor, wrote this letter to Cicero, to inform him of an action between Antony and the two consuls Hirtius and Panfa, upon the fifteenth of April, not far distant from the walls of Modena. Panfa was upon the point of joining Hirtius with a reinforcement, which he brought from Rome, and Antony drew out some of his best troops, in order to force him to an engagement before that union. Galba seems to have written this letter immediately after the battle, since he takes no notice of several additional circumstances; an account of which were brought to Rome by the letters of the consuls and Octavius. The date therefore, at the conclusion of it, must be wrong, and probably ought to be *xvi kal.* instead of *xii kal.* But it ought to have been observed before, that this Galba was once a lieutenant to J. Caesar in Gaul; but enlisted himself amongst the conspirators against him, upon account of some ill treatment, which he received from him. Cic. de clar. orat. 21. Phil. 13. 16. Life of Cic. v. 2. 417.

² *Et duas cohortes praetorias.*] We learn from Festus, that the *cohors praetoria* was so called, *quod a praetore non discederet: Scipio enim Africanus primus fortissimum quemque delegit, qui ab eo in bello non discederent et caetero militiae munere vacarent, et sesquiplez stipendium acciperent.* Festus is right with regard to the name and use of the *praetorian cohorts*; but seems to be mistaken in his account of the inventor of them: for we read in Livy 2. 20, that A. Posthumius, the dictator, many years before, had a body of soldiers,

diers, *quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat.* Vid. Lipf. de mil. R. lib. 2. dial. 4. Sigon. de Antiq. ju. provin. II. 2.

³ *Antonius ad Forum Gallorum.*] A small village upon the Æmilian way between Modena and Bologna, now called Castell Franco. Cluver. Ital. descrip. lib. I. c. 28.

⁴ *Ut amplius passus.*] The common editions add here *quingentos.* But it is not found either in Dr. Mead's MS. or any other of any authority.

⁵ *Scuto rejeeto.*] Gronovius supposes, that Galba threw his shield over his shoulder, in order to make himself known to his own friends. *Immittere* with the preposition *ad* is not very common; an instance of it is to be met with in Caesar. de bel. civ. 3. 101. *secundum naetus ventum, onerarias naves circiter XL praeparatas ad incendium immisit.* Cicero also hath *immittitur ad immunem civitatem.* 3. in Ver. c. 40.

⁶ *Aquilae duae, signa LX.*] The former, or *Aquila*, was the standard belonging to a whole legion; the latter, or *Signum*, was the standard of a private company.

EPIST. XXXIII.

^{*} *Minime mirum tibi debet videri.*] C. Asinius Pollio, who wrote this and the two following letters to Cicero, is well known, upon account of the fine compliments, which are paid him by Horace and Virgil, and the high rank, which he is said to have born in the court of Augustus. He was the first of his family, that ennobled it by passing through the highest employments in the state; and though he had many excellent talents, which qualified him to distinguish himself both in the arts of civil government at home, and of war abroad, yet he seems to have owed his success in life more to a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, and the lucky choice of his party, than to any remarkable exercise of his natural endowments.

dowments. He rendered himself dear to Julius Caesar, by driving Cato out of Sicily, and followed his fortune into Greece, and after the battel of Pharsalia went with him into Spain, where he was at the head of a powerful army, when he received the news of Caesar's death, upon the ides of March. He wrote this letter from *Corduba*, upon the 16th of that month in the following year, and professes a great zeal for the good of his country, though his behavior afterwards undoubtedly shews, that he acted a treacherous part, and only waited for an opportunity to declare for Antony, with advantage and security to both of them. Virgil. Elog. 4. Horat. Od. 1. lib. 2. Velleius Pater. lib. 2. 63.

² *Saltus Castulonensis.*] This forrest received its name from *Castula*, a city of the *Orotani*, situated upon the river *Baetis*. It is now called *Castlona*. vid. Liv. 26. 20. Cellarii notit. orb. antiq. v. 1. p. 123.

³ *Ne movear.*] Dr. Mead's Manuscript, and the greater number of the other Manuscripts read *moveare*; but they are undoubtedly wrong. For Pollio plainly refers to himself, and tells Cicero, that there is no danger of his being corrupted either by Antony or by Lepidus; *for what ever it is, which he means, he is*, says he, *adeo invisus mihi, ut nihil non acerbum putem, quod commune cum illo sit*. Graevius follows the Manuscripts in his edition.

⁴ *Initium civilis belli.*] Between Jul. Caesar and Pompey. The next sentence ought to be read thus: *cum vero non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, atque utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, ea castra fugi, &c.* For, as it stands in the text, it proves the contrary to that, which Pollio intended.

⁵ *Aut deprecet.*] that is *aut precando declinem*. ep. 21. l. 4.

⁶ *Maxime contrarium fuit.*] i. e. *maxime periculosum fuit*. If I am not mistaken, that is the meaning of *contrarium*, and a sense in which it is used by Cicero himself in the following passage. Tusc. Dis. IV. 24. *fortitudo est scientia rerum*

rerum formidolosarum contrariorumque perferendarum, aut omnino negligendarum.

⁷ *Quantas habuerim conciones.*] The Manuscripts agree in reading *conciones*; but I cannot help thinking, that Pollio wrote *contentiones*, for he alludes to the pressing applications, which Lepidus and Antony both made to him, to send the 30th legion to them. For thus he expresses himself more plainly in the 35th letter: *nec vero minus Lepidus urfit me et suis et Antonii literis, ut legionem tricesimam mitterem sibi.*

⁸ *Familiarem meum.*] He most probably means Cornelius Gallus; for he mentions him by name in the last letter of this book.

⁹ *Quas Panfæ misit.*] Dr. Mead's MS reads, *quas Panfa misit*. But the reading of the text is right.

EPIST. XXXIV.

¹ *QUOD tardius certior fierem.*] This letter was written by Pollio in the latter end of May or beginning of June, for the subject of it is the battle at Modena between Antony, the two Consuls, Octavius and D. Brutus, which did not happen till the middle of April nor did the news of it reach Pollio till above forty days after.

² *Palparer.*] The MSS. read *palmarer* and Manutius defends that reading, and interprets it to signify the same as *palparer*: but he owns that he has no authority for the use of the word. It is therefore more reasonable to follow Victorius, and admit of the other reading, for *palpare* and *palpari* are both used indifferently for *adulari* and *adblaudiri*. Thus Horace,

Cui male si palpare, recalcitrat undique tutus.

Ut rationem in eo.] According to my calculation.

⁴ *Hirtiano autem proelio.*] This probably relates to the second battle with Antony, before the walls of Modena,
for

for Antony, after his ill success in the engagement with Panfa, kept himself close in his camp, but Hirtius and Octavius, elate with their late victory, attacked him with such vigor in his intrenchments, that he was forced to draw out his forces and give them battel. The fight was bloody and obstinate, but ended in the entire defeat and destruction of Antony's best Troops; whilst he himself fled with precipitation towards the Alps. See Life of Cic.

v. 2, 427.

⁵ *Sed haberi equitum.*] The number of horse is wanting in the MSS.

E P I S T. XXXV.

¹ **BALBUS** *Quaestor.*] There are two persons of this name, Both often mentioned by Cicero, and distinguished by the addition of *major* and *minor*. The latter is the nephew of the former, and Quaestor to Pollio in Spain; an account of whose extravagant actions in that province is the subject of the former part of this letter, which was written not many days after that, which precedes it.

² *Ad Calpen.*] Calpe is a promontory in the *fretum herculeum* or *straits of Gibraltar* and one of the famous pillars, called Hercules's pillars, in the entrance into the mediterranean. Balbus passed from hence to the opposite coast of Africa, where was the other pillar, Αβύλη ἑλν, *Abyla Columna*. Thus Pomponius lib. i. c. 5. *deinde est mons praealtus, ei, quem ex adverso Hispania attollit, objectus: hunc Abylam, illum Calpen vocant, columnas Herculis utrumque. Addit fama nominis fabulam, Herculem ipsum junctos olim perpetuo jugo diremisse colles, atque ita exclusum antea mole montium oceanum, ad quae nunc inundat, admissum.*

³ *Eadem quae C. Caesar.*] Balbus, whose father was a native of *Gades*, affected to imitate Caesars actions at Rome, and in the first place conferred the honour of knighthood upon a favorite actor, as Caesar had done to

Laberius, and appointed him a seat among the knights in the public Theatre. This is called, *xiv sessus*, because by a law of L. Roscius Otho A.U. 686, *fourteen rows of benches* were appropriated for the use of the Equites at the public shews. Liv. ep. 99. Cicer. Phil. 2. 18. life of Cicer. v. 1. 121. Sueton. c. 39.

⁴ *Quatuorviratum sibi prorogavit.*] The supreme power, in the municipal towns, was sometimes lodged in two persons, sometimes in four, sometimes in six. We find from this place, that the government of Gades, was in the hands of four: and as Caesar had continued his own dictatorship and nominated the consuls for two years before he intended to set out upon the Parthian expedition, so Balbus had continued himself in the magistracy at Gades, and appointed those, who were to be joined with him in authority for two years, in two assemblies; which were held two days successively.

⁵ *Exules reduxit.*] As Caesar recalled a great number of those, who had been banished by the Pompeian law, so Balbus recalled those, who had been banished for the murder of the senate of Gades, whilst Sext. Varus was Proconsul of Spain. I do not find who Sex. Varus was, nor what year he had this command appointed to him, but Pighius is certainly mistaken in supposing him to have been Proconsul with Pollio. vid. Annal. A.U. 710.

⁶ *Praetextam de suo itinere ad L. Lentulum.*] *Praetexta* is an entertainment upon the stage, in which *Praetextati* or *magistrates* and men of high rank and dignity were introduced. It is thus explained by *Festus*, and, agreeably to this, we find, that the principal characters in this entertainment referred to by Pollio were P. Lentulus, who was Consul at the beginning of the civil wars, L. Balbus, and most probably J. Caesar himself and some other persons of equal dignity in the camps of Caesar and Pompey. For the subject of the play was a bold action of Balbus, which he

undertook by Caesar's order, when Pompey was besieged at Dyrrachium; and executed with great art and address. It is thus related by Paterculus. lib. 2. 51. *Tum Balbus Cornelius, excedente humanam fidem temeritate, ingressus castra hostium, saepiusque cum Lentulo collocutus consule, dubitante quanti se venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam, quibus non hispaniensis natus, sed hispanus in triumphum et pontificatum assurgeret, fieretque ex privato consularis.*

Gladiatoribus.] That is, as it is well explained by Victorius, *die illo, quo munera Gladiatoria dabantur.* It is an expression, which the natural conciseness of conversation first introduced and often used by the best writers. Thus Cicero. *Senatui placere, Serv. Sulpicio statuam — circumque eam statuam locum ludis, gladiatoribusque liberos posterisque ejus quoquo versus pedes quinque habere.* Phil. 9. 7. There is a defect of the grammatical construction in the latter part of this passage, which is most probably owing to an innacuracy in Pollio himself, for there is little variation in the MSS. and instances of the like kind are often to be found in the best writers. But Gronovius hath attempted to correct it, and reads it in the following manner: *Gladiatoribus autem ob Fadum quendam, militem Pompeianum (quia, cum depressus in ludum bis gratis depugnasset, auctore sese, nolebat, & ad populum confugerat) primum Gallos equites immisit in populum.* de pecun. vet. IV. 1.

Depressus in ludum.] Dr. Mead's MS. retains this reading with many other MSS. and it is the true one; and the meaning is, *coactus in ludum descendere.*

^a *Circulatorem quendam auctionum.*] Dr. Mead's MS. supports this reading; but it is difficult to find out a meaning to it. Mountebanks and Quacks are called *Circulatores* by the Roman lawyers; and those, who went from town to town to impose upon, and please the vulgar with tricks of legerdemain. Thus Paulus, de extraord. crimin. *In circulatores, qui serpentem circumferunt et proponunt, si cui ob*

eorum metum damnum datum est, pro modo admissi actio dabitur. And we read in Apuleius of a *circulator*, that used to swallow, to the great astonishment of the spectators, a Horseman's pike of great length, Apul. i. p. 8. But this hath nothing to do with *auctions*. Perhaps *Circulator auctionum* may signify in general a frequenter of *auctions*. But I cannot help thinking, that there is a mistake in the reading, and that it ought to be *licitatorem auctionum* for a *licitator* is a broker or a person, whose buisness it is to attend auctions and public sales. Thus Cicero de off. 3. 15. *non licitatorem venditor, nec qui contra a se liceatur emptor apponet.*

Si, quod jussistis, feci.] Gronovius reads: *sicut, quod non jussistis, feci.*

⁹ *Militem non modo legionarium.*] Vid. rem. 5. ep. 8. lib. 9.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
ELEVENTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

QUO in statu simus.] Decimus Junius Brutus was of the same family with M. Brutus, but adopted by Aulus Postumius Albinus, A. U. 654. And upon that account, in his coins, he assumes that name, agreeably to the laws of adoption, and a long established custom among the Romans; though it appears from these letters and other places, wherein he is mentioned, that in the common affairs of life, and amongst his friends, he made use of and retained his old name. We have an instance of the same kind in his kinsman M. Brutus, who, though he had been adopted by Q. Servilius Caepio, was generally called by the name, which he had received from his natural father. For it is remarkable, that Cicero, in his tenth Philippic oration, having frequent occasion to mention him in the course of his speaking, calls him *M. Brutus*; but in the conclusion of his speech, upon drawing up a decree of the senate in his favour, where a greater accuracy and a conformity to the laws was required, he gives him the name, which was derived to him from his adopted father, and calls him *Q. Caepio Brutus*. Decimus Brutus, who wrote this letter, was quaestor A. U. 703, and after that one of Caesar's lieutenants in Gaul, by whom he was

singularly favored, advanced and entrusted, in all his wars, and seemed to have been entirely devoted to his interest. He was named by him to the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the consulship with Plancus for the year U.C. 711: and was the favorite Brutus, whose part, in the conspiracy against Caesar, surprized people the most, Phil. 10. 7. After the death of Caesar, he and the other conspirators, trusting to the integrity of their cause, gave such opportunities to Antony, to inflame the soldiers, and to raise such commotions among the populace, that they had no small difficulty to save their lives. M. Brutus and Cassius thought it the most prudent method to retire from Rome to Lanuvium, to wait the event of the present tumults. But D. Brutus staid in the city a few days longer, and wrote this letter from thence about three weeks or a month after the celebrated Ides of March A. U. 709. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 254. Ep. 10. ad Attic. lib. 14. Phil. 2. c. 36.

² *Legationem liberam.*] Libera legatio was an honorary legation or embassy, granted arbitrarily by the senate to any of its members, when they travelled abroad on their private affairs, in order to give them a public character, and a right to be treated as ambassadors or magistrates. Life of Cicero, v. 1. p. 228. Ep. ad Attic. 15. 11. Pitisc. in Sueton. Tib. c. 12. n. 3.

Aut aqua et igni interdicamur.] This alludes to the usual form of driving Roman citizens into banishment. For it was an old maxim amongst the Roman lawyers, that no citizen of Rome could lose the privileges of his citizenship without his own consent. When therefore it was judged, that a criminal deserved to be deprived of them, they did it consequentially; for *they interdicted him from fire and water*; that is, they prohibited all persons within their jurisdiction from supplying him with the common necessities of life; so that he was obliged to fly
to

to some other city or state, and, as it were voluntarily, to resign his citizenship of Rome. For it was another maxim among the lawyers, that every person lost the privileges of a Roman citizen, by being incorporated into another city or state. Thus Cicero, pro Dom. 30. *Qui erant rerum capitalium condemnati; non prius hanc civitatem amittebant, quam erant in eam recepti, quo vertendi, hoc est, mutandi soli causa venerunt; id autem ut esset faciundum, non ademptione civitatis, sed tecti et aquae et ignis interdictione faciebant.* vid. etiam Heinec. antiquit. Rom. ad Instit. lib. I. tit. XVI. X.

³ *Dandus est locus.*] They followed this advice of Decimus, but afterwards repented of it, and charged to his account the loss of many opportunities of retrieving their first errors upon the Ides of March. vid. Epist. ad Attic. 15. 11. and Middleton's Pref. to Ep. between Cicero and Brut. p. 57.

Sextum Pompeium, et Bassum Caecilium.] Vid. ep. 15. lib. XII. rem. 2.

EPIST. II.

¹ *SI de tua in me voluntate.*] Corradus determines this letter to have been written before Caesar's death; but the passages, where Decimus tells Cicero, that he led his army against the inhabitants of the Alps in order to secure the affection of his soldiers to their common interest, and desires him to support the same at Rome, can be referred to no other time, but when he retired from the city, to avoid the intrigues of Antony, and took possession of Cisalpine Gaul, in order to strengthen himself against the enemies of liberty, and by his neighbourhood to Rome to encourage and protect his friends there. It was written therefore in the latter end of the year U. C. 709. Life of Cic. v. 2. 257.

² *Adjuva nos tua sententia.*] D. Brutus desired Cicero to

procure a confirmation, by the authority of the senate, of that, which he had done by his own private authority in the province of Gaul. Cicero thought it necessary, went to the senate upon the 19th of December, and procured the decree, which he wanted. Phil. 3. 5. Life of Cicero, v. 2, 332.

EPIST. III.

¹ *PER magni interest.*] Cicero wrote this letter to D. Brutus, about the same time that Brutus wrote the preceding letter. He recommends L. Aelius Lamia, who intended to be a candidate for the praetorship next year, to his friendship, and desires him to use his interest for him at the ensuing election. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 711.

² *A Gabinio consule relegatus est.*] This fact is related by Dio. lib. 37, but the name of the person who was banished is not mentioned. See also Epist. 35. lib. 12. *Relegatio* is that species of banishment, by which a person was ordered to remove himself to a certain distance from the city of Rome, and sometimes to a certain place; though often the place of residence was left to his own choice. Ovid hath well described the difference of *Exilium* and *Relegatio*, with regard to the civil effects of it. Trist. 5. 11. 15.

*Nec vitam, nec opes, nec jus mihi civis ademit,
Nil nisi me patriis jussit abesse focus.
Ipse relegati, non exulis utitur in me
Nomine*—————

Dr. Mead's Manuscript reads in the next line: *civi romano Romae contigit nemini*. But *Romae* is better omitted, as it is in some other Manuscripts.

³ *At is nobis eas centurias conficiat.*] *Conficere alicui aliquem* signifies the same as *conciliare suffragium alicujus alteri*. Thus Quintus Cicero, de Petit. Conf. 5. *denique instituendi*

stituendi sunt cujusque generis amici : ad speciem homines illustres honore ac nomine : — ad jus obtinendum magistratus ; ex quibus maxime consules ; deinde tribuni plebis, ad conficiendas centurias homines excellenti gratia.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *LAMIA uno.*] This letter is written upon the same subject with that, which precedes it, and probably about the same time.

² *Sed is ambitus extare.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *excitare*. Hence *excitari*, the reading of some of the editions, which I think is better, than either *extari*, or *instare*, though the former is recommended by Graevius, the latter by Gronovius. *Excitare* signifies *to rouse up*. Thus Phaedrus lib. 2. Fab. 8. 1.

Cervus nemorosus excitatus latibulis.

So Cicer. de Offic. lib. 3. 17. et Orat. in Cat. 4. c. 2.

EPIST. V.

¹ *LUPUS, familiaris noster.*] This letter is most probably an answer to the letter from D. Brutus, Ep. 2. which arrived at Rome, while Cicero was in one of his villa's near Naples, whither he had retired for fear of Antony. But as soon as it was known that Antony had left the city, Cicero returned, waited upon Pansa, one of the consuls elect, to discover his sentiments in relation to Brutus, and wrote this letter to him, to assure him of his being supported at Rome, and to encourage him to persevere in the cause of liberty. The letter was written before the 19th of December A. U. 709 ; because there is no notice taken in it of the meeting of the senate upon that day, and of their decree in favour of D. Brutus.

² *Romam autem veni.*] Not from Leucopetra, in his return from his intended voyage into Greece, as Corradus explains it, but from his retirement in the country. For
he

he came to Rome upon the last day of August, after he had dropt all thoughts of that expedition. Life of Cicero v. 2. 314.

³ *Si ne illa quidem in re.*] The Murther of Caesar.

⁴ *Si enim ipse provinciam nactus erit.*] M. Antony.

EPIST. VI.

¹ *CUM adhibuisset domi meae.*] This letter was written immediately after the foregoing letter, upon account of a consultation held at Cicero's house, occasioned by the arrival of Lupus from Modena. *Adhibere* signifies the same as *consultere*. Thus ep. 21. lib. 4. *A tuis reliquis non adhibemur*. Again, ep. 26. lib. 10. *Haec eadem locutus sum domi meae*, *adhibito Q. fratre meo*, &c.

² *Meminisse velim.*] Graevius reads, *volam*; Dr. Mead's MS. *volo*; others, *volumus*.

³ *Ne et tuum factum condemnes.*] It appears from this place, that Cicero wrote this letter before the meeting of the senate upon the nineteenth of December: for upon that day the senate met, and decreed, that D. Brutus had merited greatly of the republic, and authorized him to keep the province of Gauls in its duty to the senate, till a successor should be appointed by a new commission from them. Phil. 3. 14.

Vel puerum potius, Caesarem judices.] Octavius drew together in a short time an army of Veterans, and put himself at the head of them, in opposition to Antony. And two legions, *the fourth and that*, which was called the martial legion, declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome. ad Attic. 16. 8. Phil. 3. 3. 5. 8.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *LUPUS noster.*] Cicero acquaints Brutus in this letter of the meeting of the senate upon the nineteenth of December; he attended at it, and spoke his third Philip-
pic

pic oration; wherein he enlarged upon the praises of D. Brutus and Octavius, and procured a confirmation of all, that they had done, and a commission to act for the future in a public character.

² *Quae in concione.*] Cicero, after the business in the senate was over, went from thence into the forum, to acquaint the people with what they had been doing, and delivered his fourth Philippic oration.

EPIST. VIII.

¹ *EO tempore.*] About the end of the year U.C. 709, certain news was brought to Rome, that Antony was actually besieging D. Brutus in Modena. When therefore the senate met in the beginning of the following year, Cicero delivered his opinion, that Antony should be declared a public enemy. But the new consuls did not relish such violent measures, and the friends of Antony prevailed at last by their own firmness and resolution, and the coolness and moderation of others to have an embassy sent to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the senate. L. Sulpicius, L. Philippus, and L. Piso, were nominated to it, and set out upon the fourth of January, and were not returned when Cicero wrote this letter.

² *Polla.*] The wife of Brutus.

³ *Si hic delectus appellandus est.*] The consuls took care in the mean time, that the expectations of the event of this embassy, should not supersede their preparations for war. Hirtius marched out at the head of a brave army, and in conjunction with Octavius, hoped to arrive at Modena soon enough to prevent Antony's gaining any advantage against Brutus. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 351.

EPIST. IX.

PANSA *amisso.*] This letter was written by D. Brutus upon the twenty-ninth of April, about a fortnight after the defeat of Antony before the walls of Modena. Pansa was dangerously wounded in the first engagement, and died a few days after at Bologna. Hirtius, the other consul, was killed in the second engagement. See ep. 32. 34. lib. x. and the remarks.

• *Si se Alpes Antonius trajecerit.*] Urfinus reads, *si non Alpes Antonius trajecerit*; but without the authority of any MS. which I know of; and it cannot be the true reading, because D. Brutus wanted to drive Antony out of Italy, and would not put a guard in the Alps to prevent his going that way. The guard was intended to stop Ventidius from joining him, if he should have passed the Alps first.

Ex castris Regii.] *Regium*, or *Regium Lepidi*, was a town situated between Modena and Parma, and now called *Reggio*.

EPIST. X.

CUM *Appio Claudio C. F.*] Antony and his adherents had been declared public enemies to the state; but the latter had a time allowed them to return to their allegiance. Cicero therefore recommends to the protection of Brutus, a young gentleman of the *Claudian family*, and of great hopes, who had united himself to Antony, not so much out of an affection to the cause, in which he was engaged; as out of gratitude to him for recalling his father from banishment. For that I understand to be the meaning of *propter patris restitutionem*; but I know nothing more either of the father or son, than that it is not improbable, but the latter is the same Appius, to whom the thirty-first letter of the tenth book is written.

Nutus

² *Nutus tuus potest hominem.*] The reading of Dr. Mead's MSS. deserves our attention; *tamen vel probabilem aliquam poteris inducere, unde queas hominem—incolumem in civitate retinere.*

EPIST. XI.

¹ *ETSI ex mandatis.*] This letter was written, before Cicero had received any news either of the union of Antony with Lepidus and Ventidius; or of his collecting any of his scattered forces together; and it seems to be an answer in part to the ninth letter, and to some verbal orders, which he had entrusted Galba and Volumnius to deliver to the senate. It is dated the nineteenth of May.

² *Te incluso,*] besieged in Modena.

³ *Sed tamen tam recenti gratulatione.*] There was a public thanksgiving decreed upon account of the victory at Modena; and some days were added to the usual number, in honor of D. Brutus, whose deliverance happened to fall upon his birth-day. This last circumstance gave occasion to Cicero to pay him the further compliment of writing his name to that day in the public *Fasti* or *Kalendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Life of Cicero. v. 2. 434.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *NON mihi rempublicam.*] Gronovius reads the beginning of this letter in the following manner: *Non mihi rempublicam plus debere arbitror, quam me tibi, nec gratiorem me esse in te posse, quam isti perversi sint in me. Exploratum habes (sint, an haec temporis videantur dici causa) malle me tuum judicium, quam ex altera parte omnium istorum.*

² *Vacivitas.*] Brutus insinuates here, that the vacancy of the consulship began to draw the attention of ambitious men, and lay the foundation of future disturbances. He most probably alludes to Octavius; but durst not trust any

any thing more to a letter. For that is the meaning of *satis me multa scripsisse, quae literis commendari possint, arbitror*. Dr. Mead's MS. instead of *vacivitas* reads *tua civitas*. But the former is supported by three MSS. without any variation, and the errors of the other, which have *civitas* or *novitas* greatly confirm it.

³ *Ad Vada pervenit.*] Brutus describes this place more particularly in the fifteenth letter, *ad vada venit, quem locum volo tibi esse notum. Jacet inter Appeninum et Alpes impeditissimas ad iter faciendum*. It was called by another name *Vada Sabatia*, and supposed by the geographers to be the same place, that is now called *Vadi* or *Vai*, about six or seven miles from Savona, upon the sea coast, which was probably the ancient *Sabata*. For that place and *Vada Sabatia* had the same distance from each other, that there is between Savona and Vadi; and the distance between Sabata and Genoa was nearly the same, that there is between Genoa and Savona. Strab. lib. 4. Cellar. lib. 2. c. ix.

⁴ *H. S. mihi fuit pecuniae cccc.*] That is, four hundred thousand Sesterces.

⁵ *Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo.*] Graevius prefers the reading of one of the MSS. *septem nunc numerum legionum alo*, and interprets *numeri* to signify the same as *cohortes*, which sense it frequently hath in Tacitus, and other writers.

⁶ *Dertona.*] This place is now called *Tortona*, and situated upon a small river, which runs into the Po, about ten miles more distant from Placentia, than Iria, according to Antoninus's Itinerary.

EPIST. XIII.

E*ODEM exemplo.*] This letter was written a day after that, which precedes it. Brutus had moved his camp from Dertona to the country of the *Statielli*, or *Statiellenses*, a small territory in Liguria. The town belonging to it

was

was called *Aquae Statiellae* or *Statiellorum*, and situated upon the river Bormia. It is now called *Acqui*. Plin. lib. 3. c. 5. Cellarius, lib. 2. c. 9. 1661.

² *Ut ex libellis ejus.*] This reading is in Dr. Mead's MS. Graevius thinks that it ought to be *fuis*, because that is found in several of his MSS. and *fuis* and *ejus* are often used promiscuously, where there is no ambiguity in the expression. Vid. Sanct. Miner. 2. 12.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *TRES uno die a te accepi epistolas.*] Cicero begins to blame Brutus for not using the advantages, which the victory at Modena gave him, and seems to write this in answer to the two foregoing letters; and to a third, which is lost out of this collection.

² *Omnia tua in rempublicam merita.*] This relates to the murder of Caesar, the seizing the province of Gaul without waiting for a commission from the senate, and the defending Modena against Antony.

³ *Itaque homines alii facti sunt.*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *facti sunt*.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *AM non ago tibi gratias.*] Brutus justifies himself in this letter, for not pursuing Antony immediately after the defeat at Modena. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 437.

² *Hirtium periisse nesciebam*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *Hirtium periisse nesciebam*, *Aquilam periisse nesciebam*, *Caesari non credebam*; and another MS. of some value, consulted by Gulielmius, agrees in this reading. Graevius thinks, that the repetition of *periisse nesciebam* hath a peculiar strength and beauty. Hirtius and Pontius Aquila were both killed in the second engagement at Modena, and in the same place. It is not unlikely therefore, but that D. Brutus took notice of both their deaths, as unknown to him at that time. Vid. ep. 34. lib. x.

Collo-

² *Collocutus effem.*] Appian hath advanced two things, which have been generally believed by the Moderns, though they are confuted by this authentic account from D. Brutus. First that Octavius, after the victory, refused to have any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus for that reason forbad him to enter his province, or to pursue Antony; secondly, that Pansa in his last moments sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with Antony against the senate. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 439. Appian 3.

⁴ *Ut Pollentiam iter facerent.*] Pollentia was a municipal town of some note, situated at the union of two rivers, *Tanarus* and *Stura*; and is now an inconsiderable village called *Polenza*. Vid. Cellar. 2. c. 9.

⁵ *In spem venerant.*] Being disappointed of taking Pollentia, they conceived hopes of passing the Alps into Gaul. For they thought Plancus's army would not be able to stop their march, and that an army could not soon overtake them from Italy.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *Ad senatum, quas literas misi.*] This letter is dated from *Vercellae* a town on the other side of the Po. Thus Tacitus i. 70. *firmissima transpadanae regionis municipia, Mediolanum, ac Novariam, et Eporediam, ac Vercellas adjunxere.* Brutus wrote at the same time very complaining letters to the senate, which he desired Cicero to revise, before they were delivered.

Quartam et martiam Legiones.] Brutus had desired to have some of the veteran legions, especially the two, which he mentions here, to be added to his army. The motion was made in the senate by Drusus, and Paulus, Lepidus's brother, and the senate readily consented to it: but those legions refused to serve under any other person besides Octavius.

² *Vicetini.*] The inhabitants of *Vicetia* or *Vicentia*, a town situated in the Venetian territories, now called *Vicenza*.

³ *Et inertissimum.*] Two MSS. read *incertissimum*, that is *infidum*, *inconstans*, and it appears to me to be preferable to *inertissimum*.

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *ETSI mihi tuæ literæ.*] Cicero wrote this letter, after he had heard, that D. Brutus had joined his army to that of Plancus. For he plainly refers to that transaction.

² *Quo magistro brevitatis.*] Vid. ep. 24.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *MIRABILITER, mi Brute.*] Cicero expresses his pleasure in hearing, that Brutus was satisfied with his determination concerning the Decemviri, or ten commissioners for dividing the lands among the veteran soldiers after the war. For he made a motion to include L. Plancus, D. Brutus, and others, who had the command of the armies. But the senate opposed it and particularly excluded all such by a clause inserted for that purpose. Cicero however prevailed to let the affair rest, till the generals returned to the city.

² *De ornando adolescente.*] Octavius.

³ *Ad te posse perducì.*] Vid. ep. 16.

⁴ *De Bruto arcessendo.*] Cicero thought, that the presence of M. Brutus, who was now in Macedonia, would be the most effectual means, to prevent any ill consequence from their treacherous friends, and in their present distressed circumstances, to save them from ruin. He therefore constantly pressed both him and Cassius to hasten into Italy. Life of Cicero v. 2. 463.

⁵ *Novi timores retexunt superiora.*] *Retexunt* signifies the same as ἀναλύει, *rescindunt, dissolvunt*; the present fears, says Cicero, *undo every thing, that hath been done already.* *Retexere* hath sometimes a contrary signification, and implies the repetition of the same act, or *iterum texere, iterum nere, redoriri telas.* Thus Ovid. *Met. x. 31.*

Euridices, oro, properata retexite fla.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *QUOD pro me non facio.*] This letter is dated the 25th of May from *Eporedia*, where Brutus halted for a few days. It was a town situated upon the river *Duria* about 30 miles nearer the Alps, than *Vercellae*. Brutus wrote this letter to acquaint Cicero with a conversation, which greatly concerned him, and to advise him to have a greater regard to his own security, than he seemed to have hitherto had.

² *Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.*] This last word hath an ambiguous meaning, for it signifies either *to raise to honours* or *to take away life.* See Pater. *II. 62.* Sueton. *Aug. 12.* life of Cicer. *v. 2. 459.*

IIx Kal. Jan.] Instead of *Jan.* we ought undoubtedly to read *Jun.* There is another mistake in the numeral characters of this date, or else the 21st letter was written upon the same day, that this was; but there is great reason to suspect that it was written about a day or two after this. Therefore we cannot be much mistaken, if we read in this place; *ix. Kal. Jun.* or, 24th of May.

EPIST. XX.

¹ *Disti Segulio malefaciant.*] This is Cicero's answer to the foregoing letter, he treats the story about Octavius as too contemptible to deserve an apology, and clears himself, with regard to the nomination of the ten commissioners,

missioners, from any suspicion of leaving Caesar or Brutus out of the number with any intention of serving his own power or interest.

² *Hanc ipsam recentem novam.*] The MSS. agree in retaining *recentem novam*; and Manutius distinguishes the meaning of these two words from each other in this manner: *novum est, non quod nuper, sed quod nunc primum habemus: recens vero, non quod nunc primum, sed quod nuper.* But if the MSS. would give but the least countenance, I should be for omitting *novam* as a surreptitious word.

³ *Ne tua, jam Brute, culpa futura sit*] Cicero alludes to the consulship of D. Brutus, which he was to enter upon by the appointment of J. Caesar.

EPIST. XXI.

¹ *NOS hic valemus.*] Brutus having received most probably some fresh intelligence concerning Lepidus, wrote this letter to Cicero the day after he had written that, which gave an account of his conversation with Ségulius. For in these words, *ut antea scripsi, dum literae a te veniant, in Italia morabor*, he evidently alludes to a passage in that letter, wherein he said, that he would not, if he could possibly help it, go out of Italy:

² *Tribus tantis exercitibus.*] The three armies are Caesar's, Plancus's, and his own, which were all, as he thought, *proprii reipublicae*, faithful to the republic, or in the words of Gronovius, *fidi et certi in defensione causae publicae.*

³ *Si frenum momorderis.*] If you get but the bridle betwixt your teeth and exert your strength, no one will dare to oppose you. *Conantem loqui* is the same as if he had said *loquentem.* vid. rem. 2. ep. 23. lib. vi.

EPIST. XXII.

¹ *NARRO tibi.*] This is Cicero's answer to the letter from Brutus, which precedes it.

² *Servium.*] Some read *Servilium*, but the text is most probably right; for a person of this name, a relation and friend of Brutus, is mentioned in the sixth letter.

EPIST. XXIII.

¹ *IN Maximo meo dolore.*] M. Antony was received by Lepidus upon the 29th of May, ep. 24. lib. x. *Lepidus—se cum Antonio conjunxit a. d. iv. kal Junias.* This letter from Brutus therefore, which is dated the third of June, was written after that event. The knowing this accounts for the sudden change of stile, and explains the reason of the affliction, which he seems to have been under at the time of writing it.

² *Deliberent.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *Deliberent igitur, utrum,* and the conclusion of this sentence ought to be pointed thus: *et mihi stipendium dent, an non, decernant.*

EPIST. XXIV.

¹ *EXPECTANTI mihi tuas literas.*] This letter is dated the 18th of June, and closes the correspondence between Cicero and D. Brutus. He was not long after abandoned by his colleague Plancus, and left to shift for himself with a needy and mutinous army; and at last had no other way to save himself but by flying into Macedonia: but he fell into the hands of Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and brought this head to their general. Pater. 2. 64.

² *In collega.*] L. Plancus.

³ *De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi.*] M. Brutus, before the battel of Modena, had drawn down all his forces to the sea coast, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark

embark for Italy, if his presence should be wanting. But upon the news of Antony's defeat, he marched away to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia; and, notwithstanding he was often solicited by Cicero to come into Italy, paid no regard to the summons of the senate and his other friends there.

* *Intestinum urbis malum.*] The vacancy of the consulship by the death of the two consuls.

EPIST. XXVII.

¹ *NONDUM satis constitui.*] C. Matius is often mentioned in Cicero's letters as an intimate friend of Caesar, and in some degree of confidence with Cicero. He was a man of parts and learning, of a refined and elegant taste, though too much addicted to ease and pleasure to make a figure in times of liberty and freedom. He was much afflicted at the death of Caesar and more explicit and open in condemning that act, than any other of his favorites. This put Cicero much out of humor with him and made him apprehensive, that he was an irreconcilable enemy to the republican party. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to Trebatius of the unkind opinion which Cicero entertained of him. Trebatius told Cicero of it, which gave occasion to this letter from Cicero, in which he excuses himself with great art and endeavours to persuade Matius, that he had said nothing of him, but what was consistent with the strictest friendship. Life of Cicero. v. 2. 279.

² *Formianum.*] This was in March A.U. 704. for we have an account in a letter to Atticus of Matius's visit and the conversation which passed between them. Ep. 11th, lib. 9. *venit ad me Matius quinquatribus, homo mehercule, ut mihi visus est, temperatus et prudens; existimatus quidem est semper auctor otii.* A letter of Matius to Cicero, which

he wrote in conjunction with Trebatius, is also preserved in the collection of letters to Atticus. It follows the 15th of the 9th book, and is probably the same, to which Cicero refers a few lines below.

³ *Veni Brundisium.*] After the battle at Pharsalia, Cicero withdrew from Dyrrachium, returned to Italy, and landed at Brundisium in the latter end of the year U.C. 705: where he staid till Caesar arrived from Afric in the following year.

⁴ *Ego te suffragium tulisse.*] Manutius refers this to a law, which passed in Caesar's life-time, concerning the valuation of estates in the payment of debts. But it is more probable that it relates to something, that happened after his death; for the voting for a law promoted by J. Caesar, could never have been particularly objected to Matius; who had concurred with him in all his other acts of power and was united to him in so close a friendship.

⁵ *De curatione ludorum.*] J. Caesar was preparing at the time of his death to represent to the people some public shows and plays upon account of his late victories in Spain against Pompey's sons. But they were deferred after his death till Octavius came to Rome, who undertook the affair and appointed Matius to be one of the managers. Cicero expresses his displeasure at this in a letter to Atticus. *Ludorum ejus apparatus, et Matius, et Posthumius mihi non placent.* ep. 2. lib. 15. Sueton. in Aug. x. Dio 43. 234.

EPIST. XXVI.

¹ *MAGNAM voluptatem.*] This is Matius's answer to Cicero, and it is deservedly admired for the beauty of its sentiments and composition. Life of Cic. v. 2. 279.

² *Ut par erat.*] Gronovius reads, and points this sentence thus: *Ut par erat tuae singulari bonitati et amicitiae nostrae.* The expression is frequent in Cicero, de divin. 2.

Casum

Casum autem praelii, nemo nostrum erat, quin timeret; sed ita, ut constantibus hominibus par erat, non aperte.

Quod reliquum est vitae, in otio.] “Cn. Matius lived in such familiarity with Augustus, as to be distinguished by the title of Augustus’s friend. Yet he seems to have spent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleasurable retreat; employing his time and studies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of a splendid and luxurious life, which was the general taste of that age. For he first taught how to *inoculate and propagate some of their curious and foreign fruits*; and introduced the way of *cutting groves and trees into regular forms.*” Life of Cicero. v. 2. p. 283. n. k. Columella mentions three treatises, which were written by him upon these subjects, and in reckoning up the several sorts of apples, which were in esteem amongst the Romans, he takes notice of the *malum Matianum*, which Pliny says derived its name from Matius, the planter of it. Father Hardouin doubts, whether this person was the same with Cicero’s friend, but without reason. Apicius hath preserved a receipt of his for a *hash*, under the title of *Minutal Matianum*, Apic. iv. 3. Columell. v. 10. xii. 4. 44. Plin. nat. xii. 2. xv. 14. Macrobius. 2. 15. Athenaeus 3. 82.

EPIST. XXIX.

D*UBITANTI mihi.]* The MSS. differ much in the name of the person, to whom this letter is inscribed. Some read *Oppius*, others *Appius*; Dr. Mead’s MS. hath in the inscription *Oppio*, but in the body of the epistle *Appi*. Nothing therefore can be certainly determined upon their authority. But it appears from the letter, that the person, to whom it is addressed, was an intimate friend of J. Caesar, as well as in some degree of friendship with

Cicero. This character agrees well with L. Oppius, who is so often mentioned in Cicero's letters, and was *Ædile* A.U. 702. I do not therefore in the least doubt, but that Cicero wrote this letter to him after Caesar's death, to recommend the care of his affairs at Rome in his absence: For Cicero despairing of any good from the two consuls Antony and Dolabella, determined to spend a few months with his son at Athens, and not to return to Rome till the new magistrates entered into office. *Life of Cicero*, v. 2. 294. *Pigh. annal.* U.C. 702.

³ *Cum aliud malle amicissimum.*] J. Caesar very earnestly pressed Cicero not to follow Pompey into Greece, and wrote to him himself, and employed his friends to write to him upon that occasion. *Life of Cicer.* 2. 98.

⁴ *Et si more.*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *et si amore magis hoc.*

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
TWELFTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

M. *Fabium quod mihi amicum.*] The person, to whom this letter is inscribed, is C. Cassius, one of the greatest men of his time, and well known upon account of the rank, which he bore among the murderers of Caesar. He went A.U. 700, in the quality of quaestor to M. Crassus, when he set out for his government of Syria, and upon the unfortunate expedition against the Parthians. After his defeat and death, he took the supreme command upon himself, till Bibulus, Crassus's successor came into the province. During that time he forced the Parthians to raise the siege of Antioch, in which place he was blocked up, fell upon them in their retreat, and gained a considerable advantage, in which Osaces their principal commander was mortally wounded. He was, A.U. 703, upon his return to Rome. Cicero was in the province of Cilicia at that time, and seems to have written this letter to him, when he was upon his journey. I have no occasion to enlarge further upon the character of Cassius, it being so excellently well drawn already in the life of Cicero, v. 2. 229. Dio. 40. ep. ad Attic. 20. lib. 5. Concerning Fabius, see ep. 14. lib. VIII.

² *Pro opportunitate temporis.*] Cicero may be supposed to congratulate him for departing from his province at a time, either when he had obtained sufficient glory to establish the character of a great general, and without running the hazard of another engagement; or else, where he had left such favorable impressions behind him, that he need not fear, but that all the cities within his jurisdiction would voluntarily depute embassadors to appear in the defence of him, or any of his dependants, if any accusation should be intended against them at Rome. That Cicero had the latter in view is clear from what is added a little below; *si qua sunt onera tuorum, &c.* If the crimes, which are laid to the charge of your dependants, are such as you can justify, make all the haste you can home.

³ *Tristissimis meis temporibus.*] This refers to Cicero's banishment. The next sentence enables one to fix the time, when Cicero and M. Brutus began to live in a state of great intimacy and friendship with each other. For he says, that it was not till after Cassius's departure from Rome with Crassus: but that did not happen till the year U.C. 700.

EPIST. II.

¹ *ETSI uterque nostrum.*] Cicero seems to have written this letter to Cassius some time after Caesar had been engaged in the African war, A.U. 707. It was not therefore written in the consulship of J. Caesar and P. Servilius, as Manutius supposes; but in that of J. Caesar and M. Lepidus. This will undoubtedly appear from the following remarks.

² *Ut uno proelio putaremus.*] The historians tell us, that after the battle of Pharsalia, Cassius sailed to the coast of Asia, to raise fresh forces in that country, and to renew the war against Caesar. But it certainly appears from the more authentic evidence of this letter, that he did not intend to prolong the war, but only waited for a convenient

nient opportunity to surrender himself to Caesar. And the event is an additional confirmation of this opinion. For upon the first appearance of Caesar, he made his peace with him, and delivered up his fleet. He acted therefore upon a regular plan, which had been formed in concurrence with Cicero, and did not surrender himself, either because he was terrified by the sight of the conqueror, or disappointed of destroying him. Appian, lib. 2. Dio. 42. Sueton. in Jul. 63. Cic. Phil. 2. 11. Life of Cic. 2. 229.

[*Sed ea sunt consecuta.*] Cicero expected, that the battle of Pharsalia would have been decisive. But Caesar being detained in Ægypt, whither he went in pursuit of Pompey, longer than he intended, the remains of the republican party took courage, united themselves in Afric, and disdained to submit upon the same terms, as they would have done, if their union had been prevented. Upon that account, therefore, Cicero concludes, that they are at present treated with less clemency in Africa, where Caesar is pursuing the war, than they have been either in Asia or Achaia; where many of the followers of Pompey have retired, and live at present unmolested. The words *eandem clementiam experta esset Africa* clearly prove, that the African war was carrying on, when Cicero wrote this letter.

[*Et ut opinor, ipso legato et deprecatore.*] Manutius refers these words to Caesar: *et ipso* (Caesare) *legato et deprecatore*. But Gronovius rejects this interpretation, and, instead of *et ut opinor*, &c. reads: *te, ut opinor, allegato et deprecatore*. But this alteration is unnecessary, and the referring it to Cassius as wrong as Manutius's referring it to Caesar. For Cicero means himself: *et, ut opinor, ipso*, that is, *me ipso legato et deprecatore*. For a little below he says, that he hastened to Italy in expectation of meeting Caesar there, and with an intention of exhorting him to peace. *Ipse* is often used without the pronouns for *ego ipse*,
se,

se, or, tu ipse, &c. Thus Virgil. Eclog. 3. 69.

— *namque notavi* —

Ipsæ locum. —

See also Eclog. 1. 9.

* *Aut Alexandrini belli.*] When Caesar came to Ægypt, and found that Pompey was dead, he endeavoured to reconcile King Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra, who were at variance with, and in arms against, each other. But discovering that Ptolemy was contriving to betray him in the same manner as he had betrayed Pompey, he turned his arms entirely against him, and after an hazardous and destructive war subdued him, deprived him of the crown and kingdom, and disposed of it to Cleopatra and his younger brother. This was called *bellum Alexandrinum*, because *Alexandria* was the principal seat of the war. Caesar returned home through Syria and Pontus, and was detained a short time by Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, who thinking, that the Romans were too much engaged at that time with their own civil broils, to attend to any thing else, publicly revolted and put himself at the head of an army in Cappadocia. But Caesar soon quelled this tumult. For to use the words of Florus, *agressus uno et, ut sic dixerim, non toto proelio obtrivit; more fulminis, quod uno eodemque momento venit, percussit, abscessit. Nec vana de se Caesaris prædicationis est, antevictum hostem esse, quam visum.* lib. IV. 2.

⁵ *Qui festinavi, ut Caesarem.*] After the battel of Pharsalia Cicero returned to Italy.

⁶ *Et in urbis miserrimis querelis.*] It appears from this place, that Cicero was either at Rome, or at some of his villa's near the city; and that Caesar was absent from Rome, when this letter was written. It could not therefore have been written A. U. 706, because Cicero passed the former part of that year at Brundisium, and both Cicero and Caesar spent the latter part at Rome.

¹ *Quas Luceria miseras.*] Luceria was a town in Apulia, of great antiquity. It is now called *Lucera* or *Luzzara*, and was chosen by Pompey, at the beginning of the civil wars, to be the seat of the war. Cassius probably wrote from this place to Cicero, to advise him to be neuter.

EPIST. III.

¹ *Longior epistola.*] This letter was written A. U, 708. when Caesar was in Spain, carrying on the war against Pompey's sons.

² *Si Φλόαρον aliquem habuisset.*] My letter, says Cicero, would have been longer, if the writer of it had been fond of trifles. And it is dangerous, in the present situation of affairs, *σπουδάζειν*, to be serious, or to write about serious things.

³ *Tua quidem in culina, mea molesta est.*] This reading was first introduced by Manutius, and is confirmed by Dr. Mead's Manuscript, which differs no otherwise from it than in inserting *est* in the former part of the sentence. The meaning of the passage is this: You ask me, says Cicero, if I have no other retreat from the present calamities but mirth and galantry, *what is become of my philosophy?* that indeed is now of little service to me. You perhaps, who are an Epicurean, and place your ultimate good in pleasure, may find some relief from it; but mine is a burthen to me, it reproaches me for submitting to the tyrant, yet does not enable me to recover my liberty. I persuade myself therefore, that I am employed in a different manner from what I really am, lest I should incur the displeasure of Plato, who advises all persons in my circumstances to decline the administration of public affairs. See Plato's opinion more at large in the 9th letter of the first book, p. 33.

Itaque

⁴ *Itaque facio me alias res agere.*] *Facio* signifies in this place the same as *puto*, *mibi persuadeo*. So likewise in the following passage in the Oration pro Domo, c. 4. *At enim liberum senatus judicium, propter metum, non fuit. Si timuisse eos facis, qui discesserunt, concede timuisse eos, qui remanserunt.* vid. de Nat. Deor. c. 8. lib. I.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *Praeposteros habes tabellarios.*] This letter was written not long after that which precedes it. Cicero often applies the word *praeposterus* to men, *qui praepostere res suas agunt*, as well as to things; thus, pro Clu. c. 2. 6. *Itaque, ut erat semper praeposterus atque perversus, initium facit a Balbo.*

² *Sed petasati veniunt.*] That is, they call upon me, just as they are going to set out upon their journey, in their travelling dress, *petaso induti*. For the *petasus* was a broad brimmed cap, which always made part of the dress of a traveller, and was a mark of the dispatch, which was required to be made by the person who wore it. The scaphant in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, who was to appear like a stranger just come to Athens, was informed, that he must put on the *petasus* along with some other apparel usually worn upon such occasions. 2. 4. 45.

Etiam opus est chlamyde, et machaera, et petaso.

And Mercury, who was the messenger of Jove, is always represented by the ancient poets, and statuaries, with a *petasus* upon his head, that no way differed from the common one, than in having a pair of wings added to it, which were to be taken off or fixed on at pleasure. He is introduced describing himself in this manner, in the preface to Plautus's *Amphitryon*.

Nunc internosse ut nos possitis facilius,

Ego has habebo hic usque in petaso pinnulas.

Lipf. de Amphitrye. c. 19. Spence's Polymetis, p. 104.

D. Sul-

* *D. Sullam.*] Pighius in his annals A. U. 702. thinks, that we ought to read in this place *Sil anum* instead of *Sullam*. But who ever reads the tenth letter of the 9th book, cannot doubt but that Cicero gives an account of the death of the same person in that letter, that he does in this: and therefore, that the only alteration, which we ought to make in this place, is to read *P. Sullam*, instead of *D. Sullam*. See the Remarks upon that letter.

Πρόσωπον πόλεως.] *Specimen civitatis*. This may be referred either ironically to *Sulla*; or seriously to the present state of Rome, when they had lost all the appearance of a free city.

Ἢ ἀδῆσπολοι.] *Sed sine auctore*.

⁵ *Pansa noster paludatus.*] Pansa marched out in his military dress, to the province of the *hither Gaul*; he being appointed successor to M. Brutus. lib. XII. ad Attic. ep. 26. lib. VIII. ep. 10. Cicero takes occasion from the joyful acclamations and good wishes of the people, which attended Pansa's march, to prove in a pleasant manner to Cassius, who was but lately become an epicurean, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ ἀρετὴν εἶναι, or that *virtue was eligible upon its own account*.

* *Si ἀκενόσπεδος fueris.*] *Si de rebus inanibus minime sollicitus fueris*.

EPIST. V.

¹ *PUTO te jam suppudere, (eum).*] Gronovius reads this place thus: *Puto te jam suppudere, quem haec tertia jam epistola ante oppressit, quam tu schedulam aut literam*. Dr. Mead's Manuscript confirms this reading; *te* being omitted in it.

² *Neque id κατ' εἰδώλων φαντασίας.*] That is, *per speculorum visa*. It was an opinion of the Epicureans, that ideas were excited in the mind by subtle images, which exactly

exactly represented the external objects, from whence they flowed. These images were called by Epicurus εἰδῶλα, or εἰδῶλων φαντασίαι; by Catius, *spectra*: and the ideas, which were excited by them, were called διανοητικαὶ φαντασίαι, or *mentis vel intelligentiae visa*. They had different degrees of subtilty; some images were too gross to insinuate into the mind, and only adapted to strike upon the external senses; others were of a more subtle nature, and could penetrate into the soul itself. This is the doctrine of Epicurus, as explained by St. Austin, ep. 56. *Imagines dicit ab ipsis rebus, quas atomis formari putat, defluere, atque in animam introire subtiliores, quam sunt illae imagines, quae ad oculos veniunt.* Cicero therefore pleasantly tells Cassius, that whenever he writes to him, he does, as it were, see him, and discourse with him; but not by the assistance of the Epicurean εἰδῶλα, or Catian spectra. This Catius is supposed by most of the commentators to be the same person, that is mentioned by Horace, Sat. 4. lib. 2. Mr. Le Fevre is the only person, who is of a different opinion; but his arguments are examined and confuted by Mr. Dacier, in his Remarks upon the place in Horace, already referred to.

³ *Quae ille Gargettius.*] Epicurus was born at Gargettium in Attica. Hence he is called by Statius Senior Gargettius lib. 1. 3. 93. and *Auctor Gargettius* lib. 2. 1. 113.

Seu voluit monitus, quos dat Gargettius auctor.

Cicero adds, *etiam ante Democritus*. For Epicurus borrowed the atomical system from Democritus. Thus Cicero de Nat. de. lib. 1. c. 33. *Democritus vir Magnus in primis, cujus fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos irrigavit.*

Quod velis ipsa occurrunt.] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *quo velis ipsa currunt*. We ought to read therefore, *quo velis ipsa currant*; that is, *let them move about, wherever you please, I cannot conceive how they can affect the soul.*

* *Ex qua haeresi* “*vi, hominibus armatis.*”] Cicero applies the words of the Praetor’s decree, by which a person was restored to the possession of an estate, from whence he had been driven by violence, to the case of Cassius. He tells him, that he will demand a decree to restore him to that sect of philosophers, from which he had been ejected by violence, and adds, that length of time will be no objection to the validity of the claim, because the time is not limited in such sort of decrees as those. See rem. 2. ep. 15. lib. VII.

EPIST. VI.

NON *mehercule in hac mea peregrinatione.*] Cassius returns an answer to the three foregoing letters, and defends the principles of Epicurus against the banter of Cicero. He wrote this letter before the conclusion of the war in Spain A.U. 708.

Difficile est enim persuadere.] That is: *it is difficult to persuade men to believe*, that virtue is eligible upon its own account: *but it is true, and easily proved*, that pleasure, and tranquillity, or a freedom from the disturbances of passion are only to be procured by virtue. It is the doctrine of Epicurus: *ἐκ ἑστίν ἡδέως, ἀνευ τῆ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν*, *non suaviter, nisi honeste et juste, vivitur.* The Epicureans therefore, who pursue *ἡδονήν* or *pleasure* and whom you call *Φιλήδονοι*, or *lovers of pleasure*, are *Φιλόκαλοι καὶ Φλοδίκαιοι* that is, are lovers of virtue and lovers of justice.

Omnia bona coemit.] Cassius pleasantly alludes to Sylla’s purchasing the confiscated estates; as in the use of the word *restituat* a little below, he, with the same humour, alludes to Caesar’s restoring so many persons, who had been in exile.

² *ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι*] *Vicissim deridere.*

EPIST. VII.

¹ *DE tua fide et benevolentia.*] M. Brutus and C. Cassius were both obliged, soon after the death of Caesar, to retire from Rome for their own security, notwithstanding they were praetors that year. They wrote therefore this letter to Antony from their retirement in the country, to require an explicit declaration of his intentions, and to expostulate with him for some violent and irregular measures, which he had lately taken. The letter was written before the first of June. A.U. 709.

² *Cum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus.*] *Esse in alicujus potestate* signifies to submit to the direction or advice of another, and to comply with his requests. Thus Pollio ep. 33. lib. x. *senatui scribam me et exercitum in potestate ejus futurum*, thus also Cicero I. ad. Attic. ep. II. *me sperare illum in nostra potestate fore*.

³ *De reponenda ara.*] See the fourteenth letter of the 9th book to Dolabella.

⁴ *Nec quidquam aliud libertate communi.*] That is: *nec quidquam aliud praeter libertatem communem*. Thus Horace ep. I. lib. 2.

— *Ne quis se praeter Apellen
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo cuderet aera
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia.*

⁵ *Ea re denuntiaturum esse veteranis.*] Graevius hath well explained *denuntiare* to signify *jubere*, or *rogare praesto esse*. It is used in this sense ep. 69. lib. XIII. *velim facias eos per literas certiores, ut, si quod tibi opus sit, ne dubitent mihi jure suo denuntiare*. Lambin therefore is mistaken in supposing some such words as *ut venirent* to be wanting in the text.

E P I S T. VIII.

¹ *L*ITERAS tuas legimus.] Brutus and Cassius perceiving, that their affairs and the cause of the republic grew every day more and more desperate, and that Antony meditated nothing but war, determined to leave Italy. But before their departure they wrote this letter in concert to Antony upon the fourth of August.

² *Edicti tui.*] Antony published several decrees, which were insolent and full of threats and invectives against the murderers of Caesar. Cicero charges him with this with some warmth in his third philippic 6,7. *At quam contumeliosus in edictis? quam barbarus? quam rudis—idem supplicium minatur optimis civibus, quod ego de sceleratissimis et pessimis sumpserim.* Dr. Mead's MS. differs from the other in the reading of the next sentence. For it reads *neque irasciturum* instead of *neque miraturum*, and if I had any authority for the use of that word among the latin writers, I should not make the least doubt to recommend it before the reading of the text. Indeed if reasoning from analogy was sufficient to authenticate a word, *irasciturus* might be formed from *irascor*; as well as *nasciturus* from *nascor*, but that sort of reasoning can never hold good in any language. There is another word, which differs but little either from the reading of the MS. or the editions which would do as well in this place as the other; and that is *iraturus* but it is doubtful, whether that word was ever used by the Romans. R. Stephens produces an instance of it from Seneca; but the best editions read *irritaturos* instead of *iratuos*; and the context requires the former, and would not admit of the latter. Senec. de Ira. c 8. lib. III.

De suo jure decedere.] We ought to read with Graevius *de suo jure decidere*, that is, *transigere*, *patisci ut legibus solverentur, et concordiae causa nobis liceret abesse* vid Gronov. obser. lib. 2. c. 6.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *FINE M nullum facio.*] Cicero most probably wrote this letter before the meeting of the senate upon the first of June. For he speaks of the behaviour of Dolabella in demolishing the pillar and altar erected to the honor of Caesar as of a thing, which had happened very lately and from which he expected much advantage to the public. But after that meeting he had reason to alter his opinion. Dolabella was corrupted by Antony; the public tranquillity as much disturbed as it was before, and the cause of the republic grown so desperate under the consulship of those two persons, that he resumed his intention of spending the remaining part of that year in Greece. He was not at Rome, when he wrote. For he did not return thither from the first time he left it till the latter end of August. But he was probably in some of his Villa's near the city. Ep. 14. lib. ix. Phil. 1. 2. Life of Cic. v. 2. 265. 287: 293.

² *Sed ita compressa est.*] Victorius retains this reading and in order to preserve the construction supposes *turba*, *seditio*, or some such word to be understood. But I see no reason, why we should not read *compressum*. The construction is rendered plain by it without recurring to any forced interpretation, and Manutius found it in an old book belonging to Vincentinus Riccius. The whole sentence is omitted in Dr. Mead's MS.

³ *Quanquam primum quidque explicemus.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *quanquam, quid primum explicemus, non videmus.*

⁴ *Pecuniae maximae describuntur.*] Antony procured by his art and address immediately after the death of Caesar a decree for the confirmation of Caesar's acts. The senate consented to it for the sake of concord: but Antony, being master of Caesar's papers and of his secretary, forged and inserted at pleasure, whatever he found of use to the schemes, which he had in view. New laws were daily pub-

published, the freedom of the city, and other immunities were conferred upon whole nations, and many other acts were established, on pretence that they had been designed by Caesar and entered in his books. Appian. lib. 3. ep. ad. Attic. 14. 9. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 284.

^s *Ornamenta vero sua.*] The reading of this place is very different in Dr. Mead's MS. *ornamenta vero libertatis non recuperavit, ei quidem mortuo paret, quem vivum ferre non poterat, et cujus aera refigere debebamus, ejus etiam chirographa defendimus.*

EPIST. X.

¹ *VEHEMENTER laetor.*] Cicero hearing of an unexpected turn in the affairs of Rome dropt his thoughts of pursuing his voyage into Greece, he returned to the city on the last day of August, but declined appearing in the senate upon the first of September. Antony therefore was much provoked at him and publickly vented his rage against him, but avoided meeting him in the senate upon the next day. Cicero therefore having the stage clear to himself returned Antony the compliment, which he had paid him the day before, and delivered his first philippic oration. This heightened Antony's rage against him, he summoned the senate to appear again upon the nineteenth of September, and employed himself during the interval in preparing the materials of an answer to Cicero. The senate met on the appointed day, Cicero thought fit to absent himself, and Antony delivered himself with so much fury, that he seemed rather *vomere suo more, non dicere*. Cicero seems to have written this letter to Cassius a few days after this meeting, and in the beginning of it expresses his satisfaction at the approbation, which Cassius had signified, of his behaviour in the senate upon the second of September. Life of Cic. v. 2. 312. &c.

² *Ita nec Pisoni.*] L. Piso the father in law of Caesar signalized himself upon the first of August by a brave and honest speech in the senate, and some vigorous motions, which he made in favour of liberty. And P. Servilius Isauricus seems to have seconded Cicero in his speech in the beginning of September, though he was almost in all other instances a rival to Cicero in the management of the public affairs and frequently obstructed his measures. Ep. ad. Attic. xvi. 7. Phil. i. 4. 5. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 411.

⁴ *Tuus enim necessarius affinitate nova deletatur.*] M. Lepidus, who had himself married Cassius's wife's sister, had just now married his son to a daughter of Antony. This last alliance interrupted the friendship of the former and made him envy the great applause, which had been given to L. Cassius at the celebration of the public sports and shews, which were exhibited in the name of Brutus. Dio lib. 44. ep. ad Attic. xiv. 2.

⁵ *Alter affinis.*] It is not known, who this is, nor likewise who sold himself to Antony to procure the consulship for his son.

Qui si ne ad me referent.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *Qui si ne ad me referent, si ne non, mea, &c.*

EPIST. XI.

¹ *AUGET tuus amicus furorem indies.*] This letter was written after the second of October A. U. 709, for the transactions of that day are mentioned in it; and most probably before the eighth of the same month. For Antony departed from Rome upon that day. But no notice is taken of that important event, with which Cicero would undoubtedly have acquainted Cassius, had it happened before he wrote. Ep. 28. h. 1.

² *Utinam quidem fuisset.*] Cicero frequently laments the grand mistake, which had been committed by the conspira-

spirators, upon the Ides of March, in not killing M. Antony with Caesar, and wishes that he himself had been engaged with them in that glorious action; for then they would not have done their work by halves. Plutarch, Appian, and Paterculus, all expressly charge M. Brutus with being the adviser of that wrong step; and it may not improbably be collected from Cicero himself, ad Attic. 15. 11. See Dr. Middleton's Preface to the letters between Cicero and Brutus, pag. 52. Dr. Tunstall is of a contrary opinion, and lays it to the charge of D. Brutus. Observ. on the Epistles of Cicero and Brutus. p. 183.

³ *a. d. sext. non. Octob.*] Pighius in his Annals A. U. 709 conjectures, that we ought to read *Octavius* instead of *Octob.* But he is certainly mistaken; for Cicero gives an account of Octavius in a letter to Cornificius, written about this time, intirely inconsistent with this supposition; and expressly mentions this speech of Antony. Ep. 28. P. Canutius was one of the tribuns this year.

⁴ *Quod legato tuo viaticum.*] Caesar, before his death, had allotted the province of Syria to Cassius. Upon that account he had a lieutenant. His public allowance was taken away by the influence and power of Antony.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *VELLEM Idibus Martiis.*] See Rem. 2. Epist. xi.

This letter was written in the latter end of February A. U. 710; for the embassadors, which were sent to Antony at Modena, were but just returned.

² *Nihil autem foedius L. Philippo.*] L. Philippus and L. Piso were two of the consular senators, who were sent upon the embassy to Antony. Their commission was very limited, and gave them no other powers, than to command him in the name of the senate and people, to quit

the siege of Modena, and to desist from all hostilities in Gaul. But they were weak enough to receive conditions from him, and to lay them before the senate upon their return. vid. Phil. VIII. 8. Life of Cic. 2. 353.

³ *De Bruto.*] M. Brutus was at this time endeavoring to make himself master of Greece and Macedonia, and to secure the armies in those countries to the interest of the republic.

⁴ *Dolabella valde vituperabatur.*] In the year U. C. 709. Antony contrived by a law of the people to secure the command of the province of Syria for his colleague. Dolabella therefore left the city in all haste, to put himself in possession of it, before his rival Cassius could be in a condition of seizing it; and he arrived there within thirty days after him. Cicero jocosely tells Cassius, that Dolabella was generally blamed for not allowing him the regular time of retiring from the province, which was determined by the Cornelian law. vid. Ep. 6. lib. III. Rem. 3.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *HIE ME M credo adhuc prohibuisse.*] This letter was written before Panfa had set out towards Gaul, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and to raise the siege of Modena. But he marched out of the city about the middle of March. Epist. x. lib. x. Cicero therefore wrote it not long after that, which precedes it.

² *Brutus quidem noster.*] M. Brutus had about this time sent his first public letters to the consuls, to acquaint them with his success against C. Antonius in Macedonia. A large account of which may be seen in the tenth Philip-
pic Oration, or in the Life of Cicero, v. 2. 363. See also Plutarch. in Brut. Dio. 47.

³ *Propter celeritatem.*] Dr. Mead's Manuscript reads in this place: *ut eae cum per se gratæ essent, tum ornatiores propter celeritatem judicarentur,*

In

⁴ *In D. Bruto positum videretur.*] For if D. Brutus had either defeated, or cut off Antony, the party, of which he was the head, could never have recovered such a blow as that.

⁵ *Claterna.*] Claterna was a town upon the Æmilian way, about ten miles from Bononia, or Bologna, and about thirteen from Forum Corneli; it was situated between these two places; the latter of which is supposed by the geographers to be the same with Imola. vid. Cellar. Geograph. p. 673.

⁶ *Tuos etiam clientes transpadano.*] Thus Cicero in a letter to Cato called Cyprus and Cappadocia *duae maximae clientelae*. vid. ep. 4. lib. xv.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *QUI status rerum fuerit.*] This letter was written some time in March. For the account which he gives of D. Brutus, at Modena, agrees with his situation at that time.

² *In te et Bruto.*] M. Brutus. It is generally true, that whenever Cicero mentions Brutus absolutely, and without a praenomen, he means *Marcus*, except where *Decimus* is so marked out in the context, that we cannot possibly mistake him. In the following sentence it was well known to Cassius, that Decimus was besieged in Modena, and therefore there was no occasion to make use of any other distinction to prevent a confusion, than an allusion to his circumstances there. See Middlet. Pref. to epist. of Cic. and Brut. 54.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *IN Syriam me profectum esse scito.*] This seems to be the first letter, which Cassius sent to Cicero out of Syria. It is dated on the fifth of March, A. U. 710. and refers to some news, which hath been brought from Rome,
and

and determined the leaders of the armies in that province to deliver them up to him. He most probably alludes to the decree which passed in the senate, upon the nineteenth of December, in which there was a clause, to empower all those, who had the command of the provinces, to keep them in their duty to the senate, till successors were appointed by the senate. vid. Phil. 3. 14. L. Staius Murcus, and Q. Martius Crispus had been praetors A. U. 708; and the former was sent into Syria with pro-consular authority by Caesar, and the latter into Bithynia, after the expiration of their praetorships. Dio. 47. Appian. lib. 3.

² *Caecilius Bassus.*] Q. Caecilius Bassus was one of the remains of the Pompeian party. After the battel of Pharsalia he fled into Syria, and found means to corrupt the legion, which was under the command of Sextus Julius; he soon gathered strength enough to assume the government of that province, and withstood the united powers of Murcus and Crispus, till Cassius came, into whose hands he unwillingly resigned his army with the rest. vid. 17.

³ *Ex castris Taricheis.*] Tarichea is a town situated upon the western side of the lake of Genesaret in Galilee. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. 3. 32.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *QUANTO studio dignitatem tuam.*] Upon the news of the death of Trebonius, the senate met, and unanimously declared Dolabella a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. But the appointment of a general, to manage this new war, engaged them in a warm debate. L. Piso moved, that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary commission; others were for ordering the two consuls jointly to prosecute that war. But Cicero exerted all his interest and eloquence, to procure a decree in favor of Cassius; and, upon that account, spoke

spoke the eleventh Philippic Oration. Cicero had not interest enough to succeed; but, however, he advises Cassius, not to regard their decrees at Rome, but to do that, which in his own opinion will best promote the interest of the republic. This letter was written sometime in March; for Panfa had not yet left Rome. See Life of Cicero. v. 2. 375.

² *Dixi de te.*] Cicero went from the senate to the Forum, and gave the people an account of the debate; but the oration is not now extant.

³ *Invita socra tua fecerim.*] Cassius's mother-in-law, advised Cicero to drop the affair; for she was afraid of displeasing Panfa.

E P I S T. XVII.

¹ *LEGI tuas literas.*] This letter appears to me to be an answer to the foregoing letter from Cicero.

² *Scripsi ad te.*] Ep. 15.

³ *Habeo paululum morae.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *habui paululum morae.*

E P I S T. XVIII.

¹ *SCELUS affinis tui Lepidi.*] vid. epist. 23. lib. xi.

Et in meo Bruto.] Gronovius reads: *et in M. Bruto.*

² *De Dolabella.*] It was reported at Rome, that Dolabella was defeated.

E P I S T. XIX.

¹ *BREVITAS tuarum literarum.*] This letter was written by Cicero, immediately after he had received that short letter from Cassius, which gave him an account of the state of the armies in Syria, and is the fifteenth in this book. It seems to have been written about the same time with that, which precedes it.

Nam

² *Nam nullam non libet dicere.*] Cicero avoids expressing himself in that manner, lest it should be ominous of their future ill success, and portend misfortunes and calamities to the republic. For it was a prevailing opinion among the ancient Greeks and Romans, that particular words or expressions were presages of future events, and had some weight in determining them. Frequent allusions are made to this opinion in the writers of both languages. Thus Terence Heau. Act. 1. sc. 3. 228.

Tum, quod dem ei, recte est; nam nihil esse mihi religio est dicere.

See Potter's Greek antiquities 2. c. 17.

EPIST. XX.

¹ *LEPIDUS, tuus affinis.*] Vid. epist. ad Brut. 16, 17, 18, 19. edit. Middlet. This letter closes the correspondence between C. Cassius and Cicero. It was written in the month of July; for it begins with giving an account of Lepidus being voted a public enemy upon the 30th of June. See life of Cicer. v. 2. 451.

² *Sed maxime spe subsidii tui.*] We ought to read with Dr. Mead's MS. *sed maxima spes subsidii tui.* This reading is also supported by three other MSS. Grut. Amstelodam. and Graev. secund.

³ *Sed adhuc sine capite.*] Cicero uses this expression often. Thus in his oration for Plancius, 23. *sed si quid sine capite manabit, aut si quid erit ejusmodi, ut non extet auctor, qui audierit.* See rem. 8. ep. 9. lib. 1. Gronovius reads in the next line, *tum literis tuis*, instead of *tamen literis tuis*.

⁴ *Consules designatos.*] D. Brutus and L. Plancus, who were nominated to the consulship by Caesar before his death, for the year U.C. 711.

³ *Vos expectari, Brutum quidem jam jamque.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *nos expectamus Brutum quidem jam jamque.* The following sentence is expressed very elliptically, and to be completed in this manner, *quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus veneritis, omnia bene; sin; tamen auctoritate vestra respublica exsurget.*

E P I S T. XXI.

¹ *CUM reipublicae salute vel victoria.*] This letter hath been ascribed by Sigonius and others to C. Cassius, and they have been supported by the authority of some MSS. Dr. Mead's in particular hath this inscription, *C. Cassius procon. M.T.C. S. dicit.* But the reason of the thing, as well as the greater number of MSS. clearly prove it to have been written by Q. Cassius, the brother of Caius, and acting in the quality of quaestor. For no one can doubt, but that Caius is meant in those parts of the letter, where the name of Cassius is mentioned. In the beginning of the letter the writer alludes to the high honors, which had been paid to Cicero upon the news of the defeat of Antony at Modena. For the whole body of the people carried him in triumph to the capitol, placed him in the Rostra upon his return, and conducted him from thence home with loud acclamations. Phil. 14. 2. Life of Cicero. v. 2. 421.

² *Id quod maxime.*] Graevius reads, *id quod maximis reipublicae tenebris comperisti.*

³ *Nec inconvenientia.*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath, *disconvenientia.*

⁴ *Non minumum tibi ipsi.*] This passage ought to be read in this manner, *meque ad optimam spem patriae, non minimam tibi ipsi, producendum putes. Producere* signifies the same as *elevare, ad honores evehere, in altum promovere.* Thus Suetonius, Claud. c. 4. *quid est, quod dubitemus, quin per eosdem articulos producendus sit, per quos frater*
ejus

ejus productus fuit. Horace also seems to use it in the same sense in the beginning of the thirteenth ode of the second book.

*Ille et nefasto te posuit die
Quicumque primum, et sacrilega manu
Produxit, arbos in nepotum
Perniciem opprobriumque pagi.*

⁵ *Æmuli.*] That is, *imitatores, sectatores, &c.*

⁶ *Cui Lucilius.*] The commentators have observed, that the historians have not taken any notice of such a commander in the fleet of Dolabella as Lucilius. Therefore they think, that we ought to read *Lucius*. For Appian says, that *Lucius Figulus* hired a fleet of the Rhodians for the use of Dolabella, lib. 4.

Neque unquam non decedendo.] Graevius says, that he understands very well the meaning of such expressions as, *decedere præfectos de provinciis, præsidia de locis, homines de via, sententia, jure, &c.* but he thinks, that no good Latin writer ever would have made use of *classẽm decedere de ponto*; for a fleet retreating from an enemy. Therefore he concludes, that we ought to read, *nunquam non deducenda* or *recedendo*. But though either of these readings are plain and intelligible, yet there is no occasion to depart from the reading of the text, when it is rightly understood. For the ellipsis is not to be completed, as Graevius supposes, by *nunquam non decedendo de ponto*; but by *nunquam non decedendo de via*; and then it will agree with the expressions produced by himself, and frequently used by the best writers.

⁷ *Castra habet posita παλτω.*] Paltos is a town upon the sea-coast in Syria, about twenty-five miles from Laodicea. Corycus also, which is mentioned above, is a town in Cilicia, and not a mountain. Vid. Cellar. notit. antiq. orb. lib. 3. c. 12.

⁸ *Jam ternis tetradrachmis triticum est.*] That is, *jā ternis tetradrachmis venale est* or *venit*.

⁹ *Celeriter nobis expediri posse.*] That is, *a nobis expediri*. There is no occasion therefore of reading *vobis expediri*; that is, *in vestrum commodum*. For the preposition *a* is frequently omitted, and there seems to have been an opposition intended between; *ut et vos istuc expeditis* and *nobis expediri*.

EPIST. XXII.

¹ *CUM Brutum nostrum convenissem.*] P. Lentulus, the writer of this letter to Cicero, is the son of that Lentulus, to whom Cicero wrote the letters, which are published in the first book of this collection. He either went into Asia A.U. 709, after the death of Caesar, with an extraordinary commission, to collect the revenues of that province; or else in the character of Quaestor to Trebonius. In the following letter he styles himself PROPRAETOR as well as PROQUAESTOR; upon which account Manutius imagines, that he assumed the former title after the death of Trebonius, that he might seem to act with greater dignity, and enforce his commands with a higher authority. The business of his writing these letters to Cicero and the senate is to desire a continuance of his employment, till the two consuls Hirtius and Panfa could come and take the government upon themselves. He dates it from *Perga*, a town in Pamphylia, whose situation is determined by the following passage of Mela, lib. I. XIV. *duo validissimi fluvii, Cestros et Cataractes.*—*inter eos Perga est oppidum, et Dianae, quam ab oppido Pergaeam vocant, templum.* The peculiar worship, which was paid to Diana in this place, is the reason, that in an ancient coin we meet with the image of *Diana*, and the following legend ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ. Vid. Cellar. notit. orb. antiq. lib. 3. c. 6. 223.

Multo

² *Multo parcius scripsi.*] He refers to the following letter.

³ *Fugientem patrem meum.*] After the battel of Pharsalia, P. Lentulus, Pompey, and others, stopped in their flight at Rhodes, but were not received.

⁴ *Itaque eadem superbiae in pravitate.*] We ought to read either *eadem superbiae pravitate*, or, with others, *eadem superbia et pravitate*. *Superbia* signifies the same as *crudelitas*, and *superbus* frequently is used for *crudelis*. In this sense Tarquin, the seventh king of Rome, is called *superbus*. Thus Livy, lib. i. c. 48. *Tarquinius regnare occae-pit, cui superbo cognomen facta indiderunt; quia Socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, — primores patrum interfecit;* and his son Sext. Tarquinius makes use of these words, in the complaint, which he made to the Gabii, against his father, cap. 53. *Patris saevitiam esse intolerabilem: jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam.* See also Virgil. *Æneid.* 8. 196. and 481.

⁵ *Cum consulibus.*] Hirtius and Panfa. See Rem. i. ep. 16.

⁶ *Sed πατρίδα ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶν.*] That is, *sed patriam meam magis amans*. The whole line is quoted by Plutarch with little variation: Εἰ γὰρ εὐγενὲς καὶ φρονή-ματι μέγας τὸ ἀναφωνῆσαι

ΦΙΛΩ ΤΕΚΝ' ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΔ' ΕΜΗΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΦΙΛΩ.

Plutarch. reip. ger. praecep. p. 809.

EPIST. XXIII.

¹ *R**omanis omnibus.*] Graevius omits *omnibus*.

² *Quo hostem Dolabellam.*] See Life of Cicero, v. 2. 373.

³ *Quarum minor nulla erat duum millium amphorūm.)* The *naves onerariae*, or *ships of burthen*, which were contrived more for the stowage of goods, than for expedition

in

in sailing, were of a round or oval figure, and much less than our merchant ships or transports generally are. For Lentulus tells Cicero, with a design to magnify their size, that the least of these transports, which Dolabella intended to seize, were of *two thousand amphorae*, or about *fifty-six tuns*. The *amphora* or *quadrantal* was a measure of a cubical form, which contained, according to the best account, which we have of it, about 80 Roman pounds. See Arbuthnot's tables of ancient measures. p. 80.

⁴ *Haec sive timore.*] We ought to read upon the authority of the Mentelian MS. *Haec, sive timor est, ut dictitant, de agris, quos in continenti habent, sive furor, sive potentia paucorum*. Graevius approves this reading, and thinks likewise that the words *nullo exemplo* ought to be omitted, there being many instances in history of a similar treachery of other allies to the Roman name. I leave the reader to judge of the weight of this reason, and think it of little importance on which side he shall determine. But I am sure he cannot but approve of an ingenious emendation of Gronovius, who reads in the next line, *neque vestro ex parte*, instead of *neque nostra ex parte*; that is, *neque vestro periculo ex parte*.

EPIST. XXIV.

¹ *GRATAE* *mibi tuae literae.*] I shall not pretend to determine, whether this Q. Cornificius is the same person with that Q. Cornificius, who is supposed by many eminent scholars to have been the author of the four books upon Rhetoric, addressed to Herennius. If any one hath either leisure or inclination to enter into the merits of this question, they may see it well discussed in two dissertations, which are prefixed to the Basil edition of Cicero's oratorical works, A.D. 1541. But whether the person, to whom this and the following letters are written, is the author of that performance or no: he was un-

doubtedly a man of great learning and abilities, and a writer of several treatises upon that subject, Quint. lib. 3. c. 1. l. 9. c. 4. He was appointed governor of Africa by J. Caesar A.U. 708, and after his death was vigorous in supporting those measures, which were taken for the recovery of liberty, and lost his life at last in maintaining his province in its allegiance to the republic. Appian de B. c. lib. IV. Dio. lib. 48. Cicero seems to have written this letter in answer to one, which he had received from Cornificius, that gave an account of the places, at which he rested in his journey towards his province.

Πάντα περὶ πάντων.] That is, *nisi reddideris omnia de omnibus. Unless you make abundant recompence in the Cuman or Pompeian Villa, for your omissions in the other.* Manutius observes, that this proverb is frequently used to express either an obligation, or intention to make a full satisfaction for a neglect or omission. Thus Cicero excuses himself for the shortness of his letters to Cassius, by telling him that he may expect πάντα περὶ πάντων, *omnia de omnibus*, ep. IV. h. l.

Ut es.] That is, *ut soles, pro tua consuetudine.*

EPIST. XXV.

¹ *GRATA mihi vehementer.*] This letter was written to Cornificius, not long after he had arrived at his province, A.U. 708.

² *Ex Syria tumultuosiora.*] This relates to the tumults, which were raised by Caecilius Bassus in Syria. See rem. 2. ep. 15. Caesar and his friends at Rome were much alarmed by them. Dio informs us, lib. 49, that Bassus was assisted at the Arabians, and it appears from a letter of Cicero to Atticus, that the Parthians rescued him from the hands of Antistius Vetus, ep. 9. lib. XIV.

Romae

¹ *Romae summum Otium.*] Caesar was probably returned from the war in Spain. For Cicero seems to allude to the public shews, which were exhibited to the people at that time, and to Caesar's designs of engaging in a war with the Parthians, which he had been long meditating, and would undoubtedly have put in execution, if he had not been prevented by his death.

² *Sed proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendi.*] There is no work of Cicero's now extant under this title, neither do I think, that he ever wrote any other piece upon this subject except that, which is delivered down to us under the title of *Orator*, and inscribed to M. Brutus. He gives us there the character of a perfect orator, and explains every thing, that is requisite to be united in forming it. This treatise therefore might properly enough be entitled DE OPTIMO GENERE DICENDI: and if I am not mistaken, he gives it that title in a letter to Atticus, ep. 20. lib. XIV. *Quin etiam cum ipsius, sc. Bruti. precibus paene adductus scripsissem ad eum DE OPTIMO GENERE DICENDI, non modo mihi, sed etiam tibi scripsit, sibi illud, quod mihi placeret, non probari.*

EPIST. XXVI.

¹ *QUOD extremum fuit.*] This letter was written not long after that, which precedes it. For Cicero alludes to the insurrection and disturbances which had been raised in Syria by Caecilius Bassus, and to the public shews, which were exhibited by Caesar: at which, he says, he was present *aequissimo animo*; notwithstanding he had the mortification to see his old enemy T. Plancus Bursa, who had been lately recalled from banishment by Caesar, ep. 2. lib. VII.

² *Audirem Laberii et Publii.*] D. Laberius was compelled by Caesar to appear at this time upon the stage much against his inclination. He excused himself to his audience

in his prologue, which is preserved by Macrobius, and levelled some lines at Caesar, which displeased him so much, that he determined to mortify him. He bestowed therefore the palm upon Publius Syrus, and only gave Laberius a gold ring and five hundred sesterces. Laberius was then permitted to retire, and went to take a place among the knights; but they not making room for him, and Cicero seeing him perplexed, said, *recepissem te, nisi anguste sederem*, alluding to the prodigious augmentation of the senate by Caesar. But the other smartly replied, *mirum si anguste sedes, qui soles duabus sellis sedere*; laughing at his change of party, *tanquam nec Pompeio certus amicus nec Caesari, sed utriusque adulator*. Macrob. 2. 7. A. Gell. lib. xvii. 14. Vossius de poet. Lat. 1. 2.

EPIST. XXVII.

¹ *L*ibentissime legi tuas literas.] This letter was written in the beginning of the year U.C. 709. Cicero congratulates Cornificius upon the new command of the province of Syria, which had been conferred upon him by Caesar.

² *M. Bibuli.*] M. Bibulus kept himself shut up in Antioch. Vid. ep. ad Attic. lib. vi. ep. 8.

EPIST. XXVIII.

¹ *OMNEM* conditionem imperii tui.] This letter was written after the death of Caesar, most probably about the end of October in the year U.C. 709.

² *Octaviani conatum.*] Octavius is said by the historians to have formed a design against Antony's life, and actually to have provided certain slaves to assassinate him; but they were discovered, and seized with their poignards in Antony's house. Senec. de Clem. 1. 9. Sueton. in Aug. x. Plut. in Anton. vit. Life of Cic. v. 2. 322.

³ *Legionibus Macedonicis quatuor.*] These four legions had been sent by Caesar into Macedonia on their way towards Parthia, and were now returning by Antony's order. He thought himself sure of them; but three of them to his great surprize rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him. Life of Cic. v. 2. 328.

⁴ *In concione dicere ausus sit.*] Vid. ep. 9. h. l. rem. 3.

EPIST. XXIX.

C*AIVS Anicius.*] There is nothing in this letter, which can lead us to determine the date of it, nor is the knowledge of the date any way necessary to understand it. It is only a recommendatory letter to Cornificius, whilst he was in Africa, and I have followed Siginus in placing this and the two following letters, upon no other reason, than that they were as well here as any where else.

EPIST. XXX.

¹ **Q***Turius, qui in Africa negotiatus est.*] Vid. rem. 1. epist. 5. lib. iv.

² *Hereditatem Turianam auertere.*] Vid. rem. 2. ep. 16. lib. iv.

EPIST. XXXI.

S*EXT. Aufidius.*] This is one of the heirs of Q. Turius, who is mentioned in the foregoing letter.

EPIST. XXXII.

N*OS hic cum homine gladiatore.*] This letter was written about the end of December A.U. 709, for the buisness of it seems to be, to inform Cornificius of the resolutions, to which the senate agreed upon the nineteenth of that month.

² *Ut omnia referas ad dignitatem.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *ut omnia referas ad dignitatem senatus.*

³ *In Sempronio.*] It is not known, who this Sempronius is, nor what concerns Cicero or Cornificius had with him.

EPIST. XXXIII.

¹ *EGO nullum locum praetermitto.*] This letter was written either in the latter end of January or beginning of February A.U. 710. for the Ambassadors, which were sent to Antony before the walls of Modena were not returned at the time of writing it. Life of Cic. v. 2. 352. Gronovius thinks, that we ought to transpose the words of this sentence in the following manner: *Ego nullum locum praetermitto, nec enim debeo, non modo ornandi tui, sed ne laudandi quidem*, for *ornare* is something more than *laudare*.

² *Non ad pacem deprecandam.*] See the conditions. Phil. v. 1. c. 2. Life of Cic. v. 2. 346.

³ *Ut primum occasio data est.*] This relates to the meeting of the senate upon the 19th of December; on which day he spoke his third Philippic. Life of Cic. v. 2. 313.

EPIST. XXXIV.

¹ *ASSENTIOR tibi eos.*] This letter was written in the latter end of March or beginning of April. For the two Consuls were absent from Rome and not yet killed at the time of writing it. But Panfa did not leave Rome till about the 20th of March, and both he and Hirtius were dead by the 20th of April. Cicero blames Cornificius in the beginning of the letter for not chastising some impudent enemies to the republic, who had taken shelter at Lilibaeum a promontory of Sicily, opposite to the coast of Africa.

² *Ne nimis liber.*] The MSS. read *minus* both here and in the third line from this. Graevius recommends this reading,

ing, but he is certainly mistaken: as he is a few lines below in reading *Senatus appellaret* instead of *Senatus appellaretur*.

³ *Tibi autem ex Senatusconsulto.*] Cicero advises Cornificius to raise the money, which he wanted, by his own authority agreeably to the decree of the senate, by which it had been confirmed. The sums of money, which are mentioned in the foregoing sentence, are *vicies sestertium* or *vicies centena millia nummorum sestertiorum*, and *septingenties sestertiūm* or *septingenties centena millia nummorum sestertiorum*. The former sum is equal to 2000 *sestertia* or about 16000*l.* of our money. The latter to 70000 *sestertia* or 560000*l.* of our money.

⁵ *Ego sum spe bona.*] Cicero depended a great deal upon the two consuls and Octavius, who were expected soon to join their armies and to raise the siege of Modena: but he still thought the danger great.

⁶ *Res neque nunc difficili loco.*] This does not agree with the general strain of Cicero's letters, which were written about this time. In a letter to Cassius he expresses himself in a different manner: *res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta discrimen: Brutus enim Mutinae vix sustinebat.* ep. xiv. Dr. Mead's MS. helps to remove this difficulty. For it omits *neque*, I think therefore the whole ought to be read in this manner. *Res mihi nunc difficili loco videtur esse. At fuisset facillimo, si culpa a quibusdam abfuisset.*

EPIST. XXXV.

¹ *L. Lamia est.*] Vid. ep. 3. lib. xi.

² *Commendarem.*] The common reading is *commendem*. But *commendarem* which is recommended by Dr. Mead's MS. and the Amsterdam is undoubtedly better.

Consulibus illis.] M. Antony and Dolabella. A. U. 709.

EPIST. XXXVI.

LIBERALIBUS *litteras accepi tuas.*] This letter and the thirty seventh make but one in the common editions. But I have ventured to divide them : for the former is so entirely distinct from the latter, both in the facts, to which it relates, and the time, in which they were transacted, and has a conclusion so exactly the same with other letters in this collection, that I have no reason to doubt, but that my opinion is right. Cicero certainly wrote this some time before the news of the engagement at Modena, for it is an answer to a letter from Cornificius, which he received upon the feast of Bacchus, or 17th of March; and the latest transaction, of which there is any notice taken in it, is the meeting of the senate upon the 19th of the same month. Vid. Ovid. Fast. 3. 713.

² *Quinquatribus frequenti senatu.*] Vid. ep. 17. lib. VIII. rem. 2. Upon this day the senate decreed that the statue of Minerva, which Cicero had deposited in the Capitol, when he went into banishment, and which had been shattered by lightning in October A.U. 709, should be repaired. Dio. 45. Life of Cic. 2. 383.

³ *Id est Calvisii et Tauri.*] The subject of Cornificius's letter is much in the dark, but it appears to have related to some attempts, which had been made to wrest the government of his province out of his hands. M. Antony, before he left Rome in the end of the year U.C. 709, distributed to his friends the several provinces of the empire; amongst whom I find C. Calvisius. He had the government of Africa, which was under the command of Cornificius, allotted to him, and he accepted of the nomination. It is probable therefore that upon the authority of this appointment, he put in his claim and had been giving some disturbance to Cornificius, who withstood his pretensions and secured the province to the interest of the republic.

Stu-

Statilius was an inseparable friend of Calvisius and probably one of his lieutenants. Phil. 3.

* *Quoddam caecum tempus servitutis.*] Dr. Mead's MS. and almost all the other MSS. read *Graecum* in this place. Upon which account I believe that not one of the conjectures, which the critics have hitherto made, however suitable they may be to the context, is true. They read *gratum*, *caecum*, *grave*, *egregium*, *necessarium*. But I do not doubt, but that Cicero made use of some Greek word and that the transcribers of the MSS. not understanding the meaning of it, wrote down, according to their usual practice, *Graecum*, which ignorance of theirs hath given occasion to the reading which is found in most of the MSS. This conjecture is supported by Dr. Mead's MS. the writers of which have frequently been guilty of this blunder. Thus ep. 24. lib. XI. in the editions it is: *sed quid ago? non imitor λαχωνισμὸν tuum*: in the MS. *sed quid ago? non imitor graecum tuum*.

⁵ *Et nauseantem conjeci.*] I shall only observe in this place, that the Medicean Manuscript, and Dr. Mead's, both read *confeci*; and that Victorius prefers it to *conjeci*. He interprets *conficere in plagam* to have the same construction as *insuere in culleum*, *deprendere in ludum*, &c.

EPIST. XXXVII.

¹ *P. Luceium.*] This letter seems to have been written immediately after the defeat of Antony at Modena, before he had gathered his scattered forces together. In Dr. Mead's Manuscript not only this and the preceding letter are joined, but also the 30th in this edition, or that, which is the 26th in the common editions.

EPIST. XXXVIII.

¹ *ITANE praetor litigatores.*] This letter was written after the news had come to Rome, that Antony had recovered new strength, and probably had united himself to Lepidus. For he seems to allude to the renewal of the war upon that account. *Litigatores* are persons engaged in an action at law. Cicero returns an answer to Cornificius, who had pleasantly observed in his last letter, that no one had been recommended to him by Cicero, but those who had causes depending in the courts of Judicature.

² *Noli impudens esse, nec mihi.*] *Nolo* is compounded of *non* and *volo*. The construction of this sentence therefore is free from solecism. For *nec* is only to be joined with the affirmative part of the foregoing verb, *noli impudens esse, nec velis mihi molestiam exhibere.*]

³ *De P. Luceio.*] Lucceius had probably part of an inheritance left him, which was to be sold by auction, for the payment of the legacies and debts. Cicero applied to the masters of the sale to defer the day, 'till Lucceius could be present at it; but they refused to comply, because they were under engagements to bring it on, at the appointed time.

⁴ *De Venuleio, &c.*] These three persons were very probably lieutenants and officers belonging to Calvisius. Cornificius had taken *the Liētors and Insignia* of their office from them; and, in order to prevent their being greatly dissatisfied, he took them from his own lieutenants. Cicero blames him for it, and desires him to drive them out of his province, as soon as he could. Concerning these Liētors, see Livy 29. cap. 6. and Duker. not. in locum edit. Drackenborck.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
THIRTEENTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

ETSI non satis mihi constiterat.] C. Memmius Gemellus was of a Plebeian family of great note, and I believe the same, whose character Cicero hath given us in the following words : *C. Memmius L. filius perfectus literis, sed graecis : fastidiosus sane latinarum : argutus orator, verbisque dulcis, sed fugiens non modo dicendi, verum etiam cogitandi laborem, tantum sibi de facultate detraxit, quantum imminuit industriae.* de clar. Orat. 70 ; and I doubt not but that Ovid justifies himself, by the example of the same person, for writing lascivious and wanton verses. de Trist. 2. 433.

Quid referam Ticiidae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos?

Rebus abest omnis nominibusque pudor.

For this agrees well with the character of gallantry, which he had acquired at Rome by his intrigues. He debauched the wife of M. Lucullus, and had a long affair upon his hands with Mucia, the wife of Pompey. When he first engaged in public affairs, he acted the patriot, was an enemy to the conferring of honors upon the undeserving, and opposed Caesar's acts with great vehemence. But Caesar, who always regulated his passions and his resentment by his ambition and interest, permitted him to go on, till he saw a proper opportunity of gaining him to his own party ;

party; which he soon did by the irresistible influence of money. He was a candidate for the consulship A. U. 699. and was supported by the interest and power of Caesar. But an unpopular and scandalous bargain, which he made with the two consuls, and the profligate and abandoned corruption, which he professed, raised the indignation of the people to such a degree, that they rejected him. He was the same year accused of bribery, and banished; and lived the greater part of his time in exile at Athens. Whilst he was there, the council of Areopagus granted him a licence to demolish the school of Epicurus, and to build upon the ground on which it stood. This offended the Epicureans greatly; they applied to Cicero, to use his interest with him, to persuade him to drop his intentions, and to give his consent to the repeal of the decree. Cicero intended to have applied to him personally, when he came to Athens in his way to Cilicia, upon the 25th of June A. U. 702; but was prevented by the sudden departure of Memmius, the day before, to Mitylene. He therefore wrote this letter, which is drawn up with great art and elegance, and sent it immediately after him. Ep. ad Attic. i. 18. iv. 15. xi. 5. Epist. ad Quint. iii. 2. Sueton. in Jul. Life of Cicer. 2. 8.

^a *Antequam Philonem cognovimus.*] Though I do not think myself obliged to take notice of the mistakes of former commentators, and have generally avoided it; yet I cannot help correcting Manutius in this place, his remark is this: *principes Epicureae sectae, Ciceronis aetate, videntur fuisse primum Phaedrus, post eum Philo, post eum Patro.* As to Phaedrus and Patro, it is undoubtedly true, that they were the heads of the *Epicurean school*, in the time of Cicero, and successively one after another. But Philo was an academic, and introduced in this place without any relation to the present business. I might appeal, in confirmation of this, to the testimony of Cicero him-

himself: *eodemque tempore*, says he, *cum princeps Academiae Philo cum Atheniensium optimatibus Mithridatico bello domo profugisset, Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus.* de clar. Orat. 90. Acad. I. 4.

³ *Testamentorum jus.*] Diogenes Laertius hath preserved in his Life of Epicurus the will of that great philosopher entire. In the first article, the schools and gardens, and every thing belonging to them, are entailed upon his successors in that sect of philosophy, which should be called after his name. ἈΥΤΩ ἘΡΜΑΧΩ ἈΓΕΜΑΡΧΩ ΜΙΤΙΔΗΝΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΜΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥΣΙΝ ἈΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ἈΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥΣΙΝ ἈΠΟ ἩΜΩΝ. lib. x. 17. And there never was a set of philosophers, that ever retained a greater veneration and esteem for their founder, than the Epicureans. They looked upon his doctrines as the dictates of an oracle, they carried his picture about with them, and kept up an uninterrupted succession of teachers for several ages, who never dissented from his opinions. No wonder therefore, that they were uneasy at the sacred retreats of their master being prostituted to common use, and his dying request being violated by a decree of their senate. Cicero de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Quem ὑπομνηματισμὸν illi vocant.] ὑπομνηματισμὸς properly signifies a short note or memorandum; though it is used in this place for a decree, or order of their senate, and answers to what the Romans called *aēta senatus*. ὑπομνήματα is also used in the same sense. vid. Budaei com. in L. Graec. 179.

EPIST. II.

¹ *CAIO Aviano Evandro.*] C. Avianus Evander, by trade a statuary, and a freed man of M. Æmilius Avianus, lived in a house belonging to Memmius, at Rome.

Rome. His time was out upon the first of August; but having a great deal of business upon his hands, it would have been very inconvenient to him, to have removed, till the works, which he had begun, were finished. Cicero therefore, at his request, wrote this letter to Memmius, to intreat him to accommodate him with a place of habitation a little longer. It is not certain, when it was written.

² *In tuo sacrario.*] *Sacrarium* was a place in a private house, which was consecrated to some particular deity. Thus in the oration for Milo, c. 31. Cicero mentions the *sacrarium bonae deae*, which was in the villa of Sexgius Gallus, and in the fourth oration against Verres, c. 2. he takes notice of another, in the house of C. Heius, which had four beautiful statues in it, the work of the greatest masters. It is very probable, that the *sacraria*, which are said to have been repaired by Trajan, in the following inscription, are of the same private kind.

IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI NERVÆ. F. NER-
VA. TRAIANUS. OPTIMUS. AUG.
GERMANICUS. DACICUS. PONTIF.
MAX. TRIBUNIC. POTEST. XVIII.
IMP. VII. COS. VI. SACRARIA. NU-
MINUM. VETUSTATE DILAPSA A
SOLO RESTITUIT.

³ *Subitum est ei remigrare.*] Graevius reads: *rus migrare* The Kalends of August were the day, upon which the people at Rome generally removed from one house to another. Thus ep. ad. Q. F. lib. 2. *Domus tibi ad lucum Pisonis liciniana conducta est, sed, ut spero paucis mensibus post Kal. Quint. in tuam commigrabis.* vid. Reines. Inferip. Class. 7. n. 34. Sueton. in Tib. 35.

EPIST.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *CUM municipibus Volaterranis.*] After Caesar had put an end to the war in Spain, he intended to divide some lands in Etruria among his soldiers, and sent Q. Valerius Orca in character of Praetor to preside over the division. Cicero therefore wrote this letter to Valerius to recommend the inhabitants of Volaterrae to his protection. It was a municipal town of great splendor and antiquity, and one of the twelve principal cities in Etruria. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. p. 512.

² *Quod Syllani temporis acerbiter.*] Many persons, who were proscribed by Sylla, and other inhabitants of Etruria retired to Volaterrae and formed four cohorts. This enabled them to stand a siege of two years and at last not to surrender upon any other conditions, than such as secured them from the general calamity. Strab. lib. 5. After this they were included in the Agrarian law, which Rullus the Tribune and his colleagues promoted in Cicero's consulship. But Cicero turned the whole weight of his eloquence and interest against the Tribuns and defeated their schemes. See life of Cicer. i. 154.

³ *Primo suo consulatu.*] A. U. C. 694. Caesar was consul with Bibulus.

EPIST. V.

¹ *NON moleste fero.*] This letter was written at the same time and upon the same occasion with the preceding letter: In that Cicero recommends the inhabitants of Volaterrae in general to Valerius; in this he recommends a particular friend of his, one C. Curtius, who had an estate in those territories.

² *Caesar in senatum legit.*] The argument, which Cicero uses in favor of his friend, is this. Caesar hath lately
given

given Curtius a seat in the senate: but if he loses his estate in *agro Volaterrano*, he will not be able to hold his seat there for want of a qualification. It cannot therefore be supposed, that Caesar intended to include him in the law concerning the division of those lands: *minimeque convenit, ex eo agro, qui Caesaris jussu dividatur, eum moveri, qui Caesaris beneficio senator sit*. It appears from Suetonius, that before the time of Augustus a *senatorian fortune* was settled at eight hundred thousand Sestertii, or about six thousand five hundred pounds of our money. But it is not known how old this institution was. It might probably prevail in the days of Cicero, but was undoubtedly unknown to the ancient Romans, who gloried only in their poverty and their virtue. Aug. c. 1.

EPIST. VI.

¹ *C*REDO te memoria tenere, me et coram P. Cuspio.] The date of this letter is uncertain. It was written to Valerius, whilst he was governor of Africa. But I cannot discover, when that was. Pighius in his annals places it in the year U.C. 697, but he hath produced no authority to support his opinion. Sigonius and Manutius have neither of them attempted to determine it. The business of the letter is only to recommend two persons, who had concerns in that province, to his favor and protection.

² *Cum maximis societatis negotiis praeesset.*] We learn, what kind of society or partnership this was, from a passage in the ninth letter of this book. For Cicero tells Crassipes in that place, that he is in general a friend to the publicans or farmers of the public revenues, but more especially *Bythinicae societati*; that is, to that particular company, who farmed the revenues of the province of Bithynia. In this place therefore he means by *societas*, that body of publicans, who were united into a company, and rented of the public the revenues of the province of Africa. See also *orat. pro Rabir. c. 2.*

Ut

³ *Ut notam apponam eam.*] The marks, which the ancient grammarians and critics made use of to point out the faulty or spurious passages, in the writings of the old poets and philosophers, were called *Notae*. Thus Cicero, in Piso. c. 30. *quoniam te non Aristarchum, sed Phalarim Grammaticum habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum verbum, sed poetam armis persequare.* This mark which he had agreed with Valerius to fix to some of his letters, was to distinguish those, which were written to comply with the importunity of common acquaintance from others, which were written out of motives of real friendship, in order to shew what weight or influence he expected them to have with him. Life of Cic. v. 2. 527. note [g].

⁴ *Vultu denique exprompseris.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *expresseris*. But *exprompseris* is much better. The meaning of *expromere* in this place signifies the same as *exercere*. It hath this signification in some other passages of Cicero's works. Thus pro Mil. c. 13. *Quoniam in meo inimico crudelitatem exprompsisti tuam.* Again, orat. in Catil. 2. 10. *Quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis coenis expromitur.* Again in Verr. 5. 53. *Ut nunquam dubitant in conventu palam supplicia, quae in convictos maleficii servos constituti sunt, ea in cives Romanos expromere.*

EPIST. VII.

¹ *CUM in Galliam proficiscens.*] C. Cluvius or Clovius, (for the name is written both ways), is most probably the same person, who is recommended in a letter to Thermus, ep. 46. and called there Puteolanus. He seems to have been in the commission for the division of the lands to Caesar's soldiers. For Cicero applies to him in favor of the *Atellani*, the inhabitants of a municipal town in Campania; and desires him to leave the disposition of their lands in Cisalpine Gaul, upon which their whole fortunes depended, to Caesar himself: who most

probably would be prevailed upon by his application to except them out of the general ruin. There is a coin preserved among the Roman families, which gives one room to suspect, that this Cluvius was a person in some degree of confidence with Caesar, and appointed by him, when he set out for the war in Spain A.U. 707, one of the praefects of the city in conjunction with Lepidus. For the legend on one side is CAESAR DIC. TER. on the other, C. CLOV. PRAEF. But I know of no other office, which could confer upon him the title of *Praefectus*, the year that Caesar was a third time dictator, except the praefecture or government of the city. vid. Dio lib. 43. Vaillant. num. fam. Rom.

Regienses.] The inhabitants of Regium Lepidi. vid. ep. 9. lib. xi.

EPIST. VIII.

¹ *CUM et mihi conscius essem.*] This letter is written to M. Rutilius upon the same occasion, that the foregoing letter was written to Cluvius. Cicero intreats him to spare the lands of C. Albinus, the father-in-law of P. Sextius. For it would be prejudicial to Caesar's authority to divide them, since Laberius purchased them at one of Caesar's auctions, and transferred them to Albinus in payment of a debt, agreeably to one of Caesar's laws.

² *P. Sextium quanti faciam.*] vid. ep. 6. lib. 5. rem.

³ *In aestimationem accepit.*] vid. ep. 16. lib. ix. rem. 5. Sueton. in Jul. 44.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *QUANQUAM tibi praesens commendavi.*] It is plain, that the person, to whom this letter was written, was quaestor in Bithynia at the time of writing it. But it is not easy to determine when this was. Sigonius conjectures, that he was quaestor to P. Silius in the year U. C.

U.C. 702. But the reason, with which he supports his opinion, hath no weight at all.

² *P. Rupilius P. F. Men.*] That is, P. Rupilius, the son of Publius of the Menenian tribe, ep. 8. lib. 8. rem. See also rem. 2. ep. 6. of this book.

EPIST. X.

¹ *CUM ad te tuus quaestor M. Varro.*] This letter is addressed to the celebrated M. Brutus, whose character may be seen at large in the life of Cicero, v. 2. 226. He had at this time A.U. 707, the command of Cisalpine Gaul by the appointment of Caesar; and Cicero wrote this letter to him there, to recommend to him M. Terentius Varro, his quaestor. The commentators have generally determined this person to be the same with the learned Varro, with whom Cicero carried on the correspondence in the ninth book. But they are certainly mistaken: for his age and dignity at this time make it highly improbable, that he should be in the quality of quaestor to Brutus. There is another of this name mentioned by Paterculus, who bids fairer than any other, whom I know, to be the same person, that is the subject of commendation in this letter. He was in the army of Brutus at Philippi, and put to death by Antony; *Varro ad Ludibrium moriturus Antonii, digna illo, ac vera de exitu ejus, magna cum libertate ominatus est.* Pater. 2. 71.

² *Hanc quaesturae conjunctionem.*] vid. ep. 15. lib. IV.

³ *Cum primum M. Ter. in forum venit.*] This cannot agree with the celebrated Terentius Varro. vid. rem. 1. ep. 1. lib. IX.

⁴ *In utrisque subselliis.*] That is, *Both as an advocate and a judge; et in subselliis patronorum et judicum.*

EPIST. XI.

¹ *MEOS municipales Arpinates.*] Cicero was a native of Arpinum. See Life of Cic. I. 4.

² *Nec ullus alius.*] It may be observed here, that the chief magistrates of Arpinum were called *Ædiles*; at Lanuvium there was a *Dictator*; at Tusculum a *Consul*, &c.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *NON ut de illa commendatione comminuam.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *non ut aliquid de illa commendatione diminuum, sed ut ad hanc addam.* Manutius and Lambin both prefer *diminuum* in their editions; and Victorius and Gebhardus retain *ad hanc addam*. But *comminuam* is more elegant, and *ad hanc addam* is undoubtedly wrong. I have therefore chosen to follow the edition of Victorius in the former reading, and that of Manutius in the latter.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *L. Cast. Paetus, longe princeps municipii Lucensis.*] A learned man in the borough of *Luca*.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *L. Titio Strabone*] This letter was written, as well as those which precede it, in the year U.C. 707. for Volcatius was praetor when it was written, or at least had the right of determining such causes as these. vid. Pigh. annal. A.U.C. 707.

EPIST. XV.

PRAECILIUM tibi commendo unice.] The knowledge of the date of this letter is not necessary to understand it; and therefore it is of little importance, whether it

it is settled or no. But I think it is probable, that it was written, while Caesar was engaged in the war in Spain A.U. 708, and sometime after the eleventh of the kalends of March. For he is called Imperator in the inscription; but he was not saluted by that title till that day. Thus the writer of the history of the Spanish war. *Ita a. d. xi. kal. Mart. oppido potitus, imperator est appellatus, c. 19.*

Hem hic ille est.] Graevius reads, *Hem hic ille est, qui maxime irridere atque objurgare me solitus est.* Two MSS. omit *maxime*; but the others retain it, and read the whole with little variation from the text.

² Ἄλλ' ἐμὸν ὅποτε θυμὸν, &c.] *Sed meum nunquam animam in pectoribus persuaserunt.* This line is taken out of the seventh book of the *Odyssey* from a speech of Ulysses, in which he is giving an account, how he rejected the gracious offers of immortality, which were made him by Calypso. l. 258.

³ *Audiebam enim nostros proceres.*] The meaning of the whole passage is this; “Praecilius is the man, who used
“to chide me for not uniting myself to your party; but
“I foolishly paid little regard to his advice. I attended
“more to the solicitations of our nobles, who were con-
“tinually sounding in my ears the words of Pallas to
“Telemachus.

Ἀλχιμὸς ἔσσι, ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπη.

Od. A. 302.

Be brave, Cicero, do something to be well spoken of by posterity. “This like a cloud darkened my understanding,
“Ὡς νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα, Od. Ω. 314. and even
“now the same people are comforting me with expecta-
“tions of glory, and put in my mouth the words of Hector
“just before his death;

'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great:

Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire,

Let future ages hear it, and admire.

“ But

“ But they have little weight with me now, I begin to
 “ regard my real interest, and hate the man that is not
 “ wise for himself.”

⁴ *Μισῶ σοφιστήν.*] Vid. ep. 6. lib. VII. rem.

⁶ *Ἐτ' ἄμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω.*] Praecilius often puts me in mind of that wise saying of Euripides ; and tells me, that a man may look before and behind, may act with caution and prudence, and regard his own interest, and yet be distinguished with glory and renown,

Or stand the first in worth and in command.

Iliad. 6. 208.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *PUBLIUM Crassum.*] This letter was written about the same time with the foregoing letter and the business of it is to recommend a freed man of P. Crassus to Caesar. This is the son of M. Crassus, who was killed in Parthia. ep. 9. lib. v. rem. 4.

Et exeo.] Gronovius reads: *et de eo cum—bene speravissem.*

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *L. Manlius est Sosis.*] Whoever M. Acilius is, to whom this and the nine following letters are addressed, it is certain, that, when they were sent to him by Cicero, he had the province of Sicily under his command, and J. Caesar the supreme authority at Rome. But it is most probable, that the government of Sicily fell to his lot A.U. 706. For Posthumius Albinus was proconsul there in the year U.C. 705, and A. Allienus and T. Furfanius in the years U.C. 707 and 708. If therefore this is the true year of his government, it is likewise the true year, when this and the following letters were written. The business of the first letter is to recommend the Sicilian affairs of L. Manlius Sosis to his patronage and protection. This person was
 a na-

a native of Sicily, and formerly a citizen of Catina, a considerable town upon the eastern coast of the island and not far distant from Mount Aetna. He was now a senator at Naples and citizen of Rome. Manutius is of opinion, that he obtained that privilege by the Julian law, which conferred the freedom of the city, upon all those, who continued in their allegiance, during the Italic war. But I am rather inclined to think, that it was by the Plotian law, which was procured two or three years after by the Tribuns M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. For *Sosis* might be included within the terms and conditions of that law, but it is not certain, that he could within those of the other. For the one only comprehended the inhabitants of Italy, but the other extends the privileges, which it conferred, to all, QUI FAEDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ADSCRIPTI FUissent SI TUM, CUM LEX FEREBATUR IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT ET SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRAETOREM ESSENT PROFESSI. pro. Arch. c. 7. Paterc. 2. 16. 17. Orat. pro Balbo 12.

² *Et est hodie in bonis.*] He is at present in possession. For *esse in nummis*, *in bonis*, *in possessione bonorum* are equivalent expressions.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *IN Halesina civitate.*] *Halesa* is a city situated upon the northwest coast of Sicily, and borrows its name from the river *Halesus*.

EPIST. XXII.

¹ *IN Novocomenses retulit.*] J. Caesar in his first consulship settled a Colony at Comum, a town situated at the foot of the Alps; and had the freedom of the city conferred upon it by a law, promoted by P. Vatinius; who was one of the Tribuns that year. Sueton. In. J. Caesar.

c. 28. It may be observed from this letter that foreigners, who were incorporated into any of the Roman colonies or municipal towns, assumed the name of some Roman citizen, to whom they were obliged either for the freedom of the city, or for some other extraordinary favor. Thus Philoxenus in this letter is said to have taken the name of C. Avianus from his patron Avianus Flaccus; and in the next letter Demetrius Mega, who procured the freedom of the city by the interest of P. Corn. Dolabella, was afterwards called P. Cornelius.

EPIST. XXIV.

CALACTINUM.] A citizen of Calacta, a town not far distant from Halesa, but more northerly. It received its name from its beautiful situation on the sea shore; for Calacta signifies in the original the same as *pulchrum litus*, and the greek historians call it καλή ἀκτὴ. Diodor. Sic. 12. 8.

EPIST. XXVI.

CUM familia Titurnia.] We ought to read most probably *cum familia Tituria*. For the Titurnian family is not to be found either amongst the historians or any other remains of antiquity. But the Titurian family was very ancient in Rome and derived its origin from the Sabines. Upon this account they generally represented upon their coins the head of P. Tatius, the king of the Sabines, who entered into alliance with Romulus and divided the empire with him.

EPIST. XXVII.

L. et C. Aurelios.] This letter was written either in the year U.C. 698 or 699. For Ancharius was at that time governor of Macedonia. He succeeded Piso, who was recalled

recalled by a decree of the senate upon account of his mal-administration. Q. Ancharius was Tribun A.U. 694. and behaved with courage and resolution in opposing the violent and unlawful measures of his colleague Vatinius. This raised him a strong party among the honest and good citizens, by whose interest he was chosen praetor A.U. 697. and he had the province of Macedonia appointed to him at the expiration of his magistracy. Orat. pro Sext. 53. Pison 36.

² *Quod scio.*] *Quod* is used in the same construction, that it is in, *quod si*, *quod nisi*, *quod utinam*. there is therefore no occasion to read: *quas scio* with Gronovius.

EPIST. XXVIII.

¹ *QUAE fecisti L. Lucceii causa.*] The name of Culleolus is mentioned but once, as far as I can recollect, in all Cicero's works, except in the inscription of this and the following letter. I cannot therefore discover any thing concerning the person to whom they are addressed. It is probable, that when these letters were written to him, he had the command of some province. Manutius is of this opinion, and thinks it was Illyricum: because the *Bulliones* are mentioned in the 29th letter, who were inhabitants of *Bullis* a sea port town in Illyria. But whether this is true, or no, it is certain, that these letters were written before the beginning of the civil wars between Pompey and Caesar. ep. ad. Attic. vi. 3.

² *Deincepsque fecisti.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *deincepsque facias*.

EPIST. XXX.

¹ *ETSI plurimis rebus spero fore.*] Graevius thinks, that the inscription to this letter ought to be: *Quintio Gallo*, and proves by the authority of an old inscription, that *Galus* was a cognomen of the *Quintian* family. This is true, but

but the greater number of MSS. read *Q. Gallio*. I cannot therefore help thinking, but that this is the same *Q. Gallius Luperus*, who was Praetor A.U. 710, and it is probable that he was at the time of writing this letter lieutenant to *Q. Philippus*, who had the government of Asia A.U. 708. for I find the same persons, and their affairs in Asia recommended to him in the 32d and 33d letters.

* *Philomeli negotiatur.*] A town in *Phrygia major*.

EPIST. XXXII.

* *ETSI non dubito.*] Vid. Pigh. Annal. A.U.C. 708.

EPIST. XXXIII.

* *GRATULOR tibi.*] This letter was written soon after Philip was returned from his province.

EPIST. XXXIV.

* *L. Egnatio uno.*] *L. Appuleius* is supposed to have been Quaestor to *Phillippus* in Asia. Pigh. Annal. A.U. 707 and 708.

EPIST. XXXVI.

* *OMNES tibi commendo Cyprios.*] The person, to whom this letter was written, was Quaestor of Cyprus, a famous island in the Mediterranean sea, and esteemed very much by the ancients upon account of the healthfulness of the climate, and fruitfulness of the soil, but at present uncultivated and unwholesome, though considered by the Turks as a place of great importance. It was anciently divided into four districts or provinces, one of which was called *Paphia*. Hence Cicero recommends the Cyprians in general to *Sextilius*, but more especially the *Paphians*.

* *Cum primus in eam insulam.*] The island of Cyprus used to be under the government of the proconsul of Cilicia:

cia: but after the defeat of Pompey at Pharfalia and the reduction of the foreign provinces, Caesar sent Sextilius in the character of Quæstor, about the year U.C. 706.

³ *Si et P. Lentuli.*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, to whom the letters of the first book are written. He and Cicero were successively governors of Cilicia. Upon that account therefore he recommends to Sextilius the observation of those laws and customs, which he and Lentulus had established during their government.

EPIST. XXXVII.

¹ *MEMINI cum mihi desipere videbare.*] M. Curius, to whom this letter is inscribed, was *Quæstor Urbanus* A.U. 691, and *Tribun* A.U. 696, and at that time very active in promoting the law to recall Cicero from banishment. But after that he seems to have withdrawn himself from the administration of public affairs, and to have applied himself to trade. For the benefit of carrying it on with convenience he resided at Patrae a City of Pelopponesus. Cicero wrote this letter to him most probably in the latter end of the year U.C. 706. or beginning of A.U. 707. vid. ep. 5. lib. IV. rem. I.

² *Ubi nec Pelopidarum.*] Cicero often quotes these words. But it is not known from what Author they are taken. In the 39th letter of this book, the sentence is complet. *Ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam*, and likewise in a letter to Atticus, though with a little variation: *ubi nec Pelopidarum facta, neque famam audiam*. lib. xv. ep. II. But though neither the author, nor original application of the words are known, yet it is plain, that Cicero means by the *Pelopidae* the tyrants or oppressors of the liberty of his country.

Dicere te ex libris meis animum desiderare.] This is the reading of the MSS. but it ought to be either. *te dicere te ex libris meis &c.* or *dicere* ought to be omitted and the whole

but the greater number of MSS. read *Q. Gallio*. I cannot therefore help thinking, but that this is the same *Q. Gallius Luperus*, who was Praetor A.U. 710, and it is probable that he was at the time of writing this letter lieutenant to *Q. Philippus*, who had the government of Asia A.U. 708. for I find the same persons, and their affairs in Asia recommended to him in the 32d and 33d letters.

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* *L. Egnatio uno.*] L. Appuleius is supposed to have been Quaestor to Phillipus in Asia. Pigh. Annal. A.U. 707 and 708.

EPIST. XXXVI.

* *OMNES tibi commendo Cyprios.*] The person, to whom this letter was written, was Quaestor of Cyprus, a famous island in the Mediterranean sea, and esteemed very much by the ancients upon account of the healthfulness of the climate, and fruitfulness of the soil, but at present uncultivated and unwholesome, though considered by the Turks as a place of great importance. It was anciently divided into four districts or provinces, one of which was called *Paphia*. Hence Cicero recommends the Cyprians in general to Sextilius, but more especially the Paphians.

* *Cum primus in eam insulam.*] The island of Cyprus used to be under the government of the proconsul of Cilicia:

cia: but after the defeat of Pompey at Pharfalia and the reduction of the foreign provinces, Caesar sent Sextilius in the character of Quæstor, about the year U.C. 706.

³ *Si et P. Lentuli.*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, to whom the letters of the first book are written. He and Cicero were successively governors of Cilicia. Upon that account therefore he recommends to Sextilius the observation of those laws and customs, which he and Lentulus had established during their government.

EPIST. XXXVII.

¹ *MEMINI cum mihi desipere videbare.*] M. Curius, to whom this letter is inscribed, was Quæstor Urbanus A.U. 691, and Tribun A.U. 696, and at that time very active in promoting the law to recall Cicero from banishment. But after that he seems to have withdrawn himself from the administration of public affairs, and to have applied himself to trade. For the benefit of carrying it on with convenience he resided at Patrae a City of Peloponnusus. Cicero wrote this letter to him most probably in the latter end of the year U.C. 706. or beginning of A.U. 707. vid. ep. 5. lib. iv. rem. i.

² *Ubi nec Pelopidarum.*] Cicero often quotes these words. But it is not known from what Author they are taken. In the 39th letter of this book, the sentence is compleat. *Ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam*, and likewise in a letter to Atticus, though with a little variation: *ubi nec Pelopidarum facta, neque famam audiam*. lib. xv. ep. ii. But though neither the author, nor original application of the words are known, yet it is plain, that Cicero means by the *Pelopidae* the tyrants or oppressors of the liberty of his country.

Dicere te ex libris meis animum desiderare.] This is the reading of the MSS. but it ought to be either. *te dicere te ex libris meis &c.* or *dicere* ought to be omitted and the whole

whole read thus: *Intellexi enim ex tuo sermone quodam, cum meam moestitiam et desperationem accusares domi tuae, te ex meis libris animum meum desiderare.* Graevius seems to approve the latter opinion. The meaning of it is, that Curius wanted to see Cicero exert in his conduct and behaviour those principles of courage and resolution, which he had advanced in his writings.

EPIST. XXXVIII.

¹ *SI vales bene est.*] This letter was written in the latter end of October A. U. C. 708. Cicero had recommended Curius to Sulpicius, when he was appointed governor of Achaia. Curius therefore in this letter desires him again to recommend him to the person, who should be nominated to succeed him, and says, that by that means he should be able to settle his affairs in such a manner as to see him in the spring, and to call in what money he had in other peoples hands, and safely to transport it into Italy. For I take this to be the meaning of this passage: *quo facilius—et nostra refigere deportareque tuto possimus.* It is in the text *desigere*; but we ought to read *refigere*. For *desigere* is the same as the uncompounded *figere*; but *refigere* is opposed to *figere*. Thus Virgil. *Æneid.* vi. lib.

—*Fixit leges pretio atque refixit.*

Thus also Cicero, *Phil.* 12. c. . *nunc figuntur rursus eae tabulae, quas vos decretis vestris refixistis.*

Sum enim χρησται μὲν tuus, κτήσαι δὲ Attici nostri.] That is: *usu quidem tuus sum, possessione autem Attici.* You have the usufructuary right in me, Atticus the property and dominion.

² *Quod quidem si inter senes coemptionales.*] *Senes coemptionales* are such old slaves as are unfit for service, and of little or no value. Great numbers of them used either to be sold together in a lump, or else they were joined with younger

younger slaves of higher value, from whence they were called *coemtionales*. Curius therefore tells Cicero, that since Atticus hath only the right of dominion in him, he is of little value to him, and only to be reckoned in the number of the *senes coemtionales*, the slaves which would bear no price in the market by themselves. But the advantages, says he, which you may receive from me are great: if you put me upon sale, *praedicatio nostra quanti est?* how great a gainer will you be from such an auction! vid. Gronov. de pecun. vet. lib. iv. c. 8.

³ *Nec solere duo parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare.*] That is, as it is explained by Erasmus: *eadem re duplicem inire gratiam eademque opera duos pariter demereri. Tractum videtur ab his, qui parietibus opus albarium superinducunt.* vid. Erasmi. adag. Chil. i. cent. 7. prov. 3.

EPIST. XXXIX.

¹ *EGO vero jam te nec hortor.*] This letter is an answer to that, which precedes it, and was written in the beginning of the year U. C. 709.

² *In campo certe non fuisti.*] J. Caesar upon the last day of December summoned an assembly of the tribes in the Campus Martius, to an election of quaestors for the following year. For the quaestors, tribuns and Aediles were chosen in the comitiis tributis; but the consul Q. Fabius dying suddenly that morning, and the other consul Trebonius being absent from Rome, Caesar by his own authority changed the assembly of the tribes into that of the centuries, (for the consuls, censor and praetors were regularly chosen by the votes of the people in such an assembly as that;) and nominated C. Caninius Rebilus to the vacancy at one in the afternoon, whose office was to continue only through the remaining part of that day. vid. Dio. 43. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 219.

³ *Sella Q. Maximi, quem illi.*] Caesar was sole consul this year, till he returned from Spain. At which time he resigned the consulship and substituted in his room Q. Fabius Maximus, and C. Trebonius. Cicero therefore would not allow persons, so irregularly chosen, to be called consuls: hence he says, *quem illi*, scil. the friends of Caesar, *consulem esse dicebant*. Neither would the people themselves acknowledge him. For when Fabius's Officers proclaimed his presence in the theater, and ordered the people to make room for the consul, the whole assembly cried out, he is no consul. Life of Cic. 2. 219. note [q] Suet. in J. Caes. 80.

⁴ *Acilius.*] very probably the same person, to whom the 17th letter in this book is inscribed.

EPIST. XL.

¹ *FACILE perspexi ex tuis literis.*] This letter was also written A. U. 709, and before the death of Caesar.

² *Propter tuas res ita contractas.*] That is, as it is explained by Gronovius, *valde implicatas, ut nec initium nec finis appareat*.

³ *Ut Pomponius noster.*] T. Pomponius Atticus. Cicero attributes the first place in urbanity to Curius, the second to Atticus, and the third to himself. This opinion of the wit and pleasantry of Curius agrees very well with what he says in a letter to Atticus. VII. 2. *Curius autem ipse sensit, quam tu velles se a me diligere; et eo sum admodum delectatus; et mehercule est quam facile diligas αὐτόχθων in homine urbanitas.*

EPIST. XLI.

¹ *Q. Pompeius, Sext. filius.*] The Commentators suppose this Curius to be the same person to whom the foregoing letters are sent. And though there is great reason

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reason to doubt that, yet as it is of no importance to the understanding of the letter, I shall not spend any time in confuting it. The date of this letter is as uncertain as the person to whom it is sent.

EPIST. XLII.

Umsi hoc mihi.] It is probable, that the person to whom this letter is addressed, was proconsul of Achaia, and successor to Sulpicius. For he and his successor were the only two, who were proconsuls during this correspondence between Curius and Cicero, after the battle of Pharsalia, and Cicero's long residence at Brundisium. If this therefore be true, we ought to read *Acilio* instead of *Aucto*. For *Acilius* was the name of Sulpicius's successor. vid. Ep. 39.

Ex mea amicitia.] H. Stephens reads : *ex ea amicitia et ex tuo in me officio.*

EPIST. XLIV.

A. Licinius Aristoteles Melitensis] A native of Melita. There are two Islands of that name. One upon the coast of Illyricum, which is called at this time by the Italians *Meleda* and under the jurisdiction of the republic of *Ragusi*. Another between Africa and Sicily; which is famous for the shipwreck of St. Paul and well known in these days by the name of Malta. It was in the time of Cicero under the jurisdiction of the Praetor of Sicily. It is to this island therefore that A. Licinius belonged, for Q. Marcius Rex, to whom this letter is written, was pro-praetor of Sicily A. U. 708. Cicero in Ver. c. 46. Spon. Itiner. Dalmat. 81.

EPIST. XLV.

L. Genucilio Curvo] Cicero wrote this Letter to Q. Minutius Thermus. A. U. 702. whilst he was employed in the government of the province of Asia.

Pariana

¹ *Pariana civitas*] Parium or Parion was a city in Mysia, situated upon the Hellespont.

³ *Ut in illam διοίκῃσιν rejicias*] The Roman provinces were divided into several jurisdictions, or lesser provinces, which were called by a Greek word *Dioiceses*: and were all dependant upon the governor of the larger provinces. But this will not hold good with regard to the latter ages of the Roman empire, for the word *Dioicēsis* or *Diocesis* was used in a more comprehensive sense then: for all the dominions of the Roman empire in Asia were divided into three *Dioceses*, which contained about thirty seven lesser provinces, and with the *Dioceses* of Thrace and Egypt, were under the command of the *Praefectus praetorii orientis*.

EPIST. XLVI.

¹ *CLUVIUS Puteolanus*] Vid. ep. 7. h. l. This letter was probably written in the latter end of the year U. C. 702. for Cicero had been some time in the province of Cilicia before he wrote it.

² *Ut ecclīci Mylasii*] *Ecdici* or *Syndici* are persons, who are legally constituted to transact any business in the name of a state or city, and with regard to public bodies are what *Procuratores* are to private persons. They are in short the *defensores*, *procuratores* or *public advocates and attorneys* either of a state or any other incorporated society. For as Caius observes l. 1. *Collegiis permissum est ad exemplum reipublicae res communes, arcam communem, et ACTOREM sive SYNDICUM, per quem tanquam in re publica quod communiter agi, fierique oporteat, agatur, fiat.* One difference between *Edici* and *Legati* may be collected from this letter. viz. That *Ecdici* always had full powers to determine the business, upon which they were employed, and obliged the state, which they represented, by their determination. But the power of *Legati* was generally

rally limited and restrained from determining an affair without consulting and receiving fresh instructions from their principals, as often as any change of circumstances arose. This is the reason, why Cicero says, *Legatos audio missos esse, sed malo ecdicos, ut aliquid confici possit*. By the Roman law all persons were excused from discharging the office of a Syndic twice, unless the necessity of the public required it. Paul. l. 16. 3. D. But by the Athenian law, those, who had been once employed in that character, were ever after excluded. Demost. in Leptin. p. 57. et Cel. Tayl. not. in loc. Pancirol. de mag. municip. c. 17.

³ ὑποθήκας Cluvio dedit.] *Pignus* is a general term amongst the lawyers for any kind of security, which is given to a creditor: whether it be *res mobilis* or *immobilis*. In the former case, the *pignus* was generally deposited either in the hands of the creditor, or some other person, till the time of payment. And the creditor, as the Civilians express themselves, *possessionem solum ad tempus consequebatur: sed dominium penes debitorem erat*. In the latter case. The *pignus* being an estate, house or farm, the possession remained in the debtor, though the right of dominion was transferred to the creditor. *Hypotheca* is properly used to signify the latter kind of *pignus*; though sometimes it comprehends both. The Greeks make the same distinction between ἐνέχυρον and ὑποθήκη. Vid. Salmas. de Mod. Usu. c. 12. 491.

⁴ Hae commissae sunt.] That is, the *Hypothecae* are forfeited, or, the payment not being made within the limited time, the creditor hath acquired the right of possession as well as right of dominion. *I desire therefore*, says Cicero, *that Philotes may either be obliged to give up the possession of the Hypothecae, or pay the money*. Salmas. ibid. c. 14. p. 614, &c.

Id velim cognoscas.] That is, *in hanc rem velim inquiras*. For *cognoscere* hath very frequently the same signification

as *explorare, investigare, in rem inquirere*. Thus Caesar, lib. I. de B. Gal. 21. *qualis esset natura montis, et qualis in circuitu adscensus, qui cognoscerent, misit*. See also ep. 70. of this book. The inhabitants of Caunus pleaded, that they did not borrow the money of Cluvius, but that it *was deposited with them upon trust*. Cicero therefore desires Thermus to examine into this affair, and if their plea should be found to be false, to oblige them to pay the legal interest to Cluvius.

EPIST. XLVII.

E*TSI mihi videor intellexisse.*] This letter was written in the beginning of the year U.C. 703, to recommend a money affair, which M. Anneius, Cicero's lieutenant, had with the citizens of Sardis. I have fixed the date so late as that year, because Cicero praises the conduct of his lieutenant in the late campaign, which he made under his auspices. For that was not ended till the latter end of December A.U. 702.

EPIST. XLVIII.

C*UM multa mihi grata sunt.*] This letter was likewise written in the beginning of the year U.C. 703, while Cicero resided at Laodicea: he came there the beginning of February, and continued there till the middle of May. The business of it is to return Thermus thanks for the services, which he had done to the son of *his interpreter* upon a former recommendation of his; and to recommend him again with greater earnestness, upon account of the great integrity, which he had experienced, *in longa apparitione*, in the long service of his father. The scribes, interpreters, lictors, and other inferior officers, who attended upon the proconsuls, were called *Apparitores*, οἱ παρὶς-άμεινοι τοῖς ἐν' ἀξιώσει; or, as Servius expresses

presses himself, *qui, apparent, praesto sunt ad obsequium.*
Aeneid. xii. 850.

Hae Jovis ad solium, saevique in limine regis

Apparent, acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris.

But not only the inferior officers of the proconsuls in the provinces were called *Apparitores*; but also there were some at Rome, which had the same name. For it appears from the following fragment of a very old inscription in the Appian way, that even the lictors and servants of the *Pontifices* were called *Apparitores*.

APPARITORI
 PONTIFICVM
 PARMVLARIO.

vid. et. Gruter. MXCIII. 8.

EPIST. XLIX.

QUO magis quotidie ex literis.] Cicero presses Thermus to dispatch the business of his lieutenant Annius, which was depending before him, as soon as possible; because the warlike motions in the neighbouring province of Syria, made his presence absolutely necessary to him. He therefore wrote this letter, either in the latter end of March or beginning of April A.U. 703.

EPIST. L.

OFFICIUM meum erga Rhodonem.] Cicero wrote this letter before the middle of May A.U. 703, for he had not at the time of writing it left Laodicea. The business of it is to advise Thermus, when he departed from the province, to leave the command of it in the hands of his quaestor. For Cicero thought he ought to do it, not only because his quaestor had the best right to it, but because it would be most for his own interest and advantage. For the present situation of the public affairs afforded an unpleasant and disagreeable prospect, and by obliging a

young gentleman, who had powerful alliances and great interest, he would avoid unnecessary quarrels, and consult *posteritatis otio*, or *the peace of his future life*. Cicero often uses the word *posteritas* to signify *posterum tempus*. Thus in Cat. I. c. 9. *Video quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat.* vid. et. c. 12, 13.

Si adolescens potens et nobilis.] He most probably means in this place C. Antonius: he had two brothers, the celebrated *Marcus Antonius* the triumvir, and *Lucius Marcus* was tribun in the following year. Vid. Pigh. annal. A.U. 703, &c.

EPIST. LI.

ETSI non dubito.] We know no more of the person, to whom this letter is addressed, than what may be collected from thence. It appears, that he was one of the lieutenants for taking care of the corn and provisions of the republic. And the letter was most probably written the year after Pompey resigned that office, A.U. 701. for Cicero desires Titius to shew the same favor to his friend Flaccus, as Pompey had shewed him before. Pompey was invested with that power by an extraordinary decree A.U. 696, and held it for five years. Life of Cic. v. I. 408.

² *C. Aviano Flacco.*] Vid. ep. 72. l. h.

EPIST. LII.

L. Custidius est tribulis.] C. Titius Rufus, to whom Cicero recommends his friend Custidius, hath the title of *Praetor Urbanus* in the inscription of the letter. This circumstance therefore determines the time of writing it to the year U.C. 703. for Pighius places his praetorship in that year, and Cicero was in his province of Cilicia at that time.

E P I S T. LIII.

¶ *ET SI unus ex omnibus minime sum.*] This is a consolatory letter to Titius upon account of the death of some of his children. But it is uncertain, whether it was written before Caesar's death or after it: for there is nothing in it, that relates to the situation of the public affairs, which may not as well be referred to the confusion in which they were about the end of the year U.C. 709, or beginning of the year U.C. 710, as to any time of Caesar's dominion.

Et haec prolatio.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *probatio*; two others *exprobatio*, and the common editions *perturbatio*. But they are all wrong; for we ought either to read, *et haec propagatio temporum perditorum*, as Cicero writes in his letter to Lucceius, Epist. 16. lib. 5. *Quod in ea vita maneam, in qua nihil insit nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis*. Or else admit of Graevius's conjecture, which is the reading of the text, and supported by one of his MSS. in which the word was written in this manner *pátio*.

Id nos praecipere.] Dr. Mead's Manuscript reads *praeripere*. Let it be observed, that two or three lines below *anterferre* is used for *praecipere* or *praeripere*.

E P I S T. LIV.

¶ *M. Fabium unice diligo.*] C. Curtius Peducaeanus was praetor when this letter was written to him, and he had the *peregrina jurisdictio*. He seems by his name to have been adopted into the Curtian family. Cicero wrote to him out of his province, to recommend M. Fabius to him, whose success in a suit at law, in which he was at present engaged, he appears to have had much at heart. He wrote to several other friends in his favor, and some of the letters are extant in this collection, where the

whole affair may be seen more at large. Ep. 14. lib. VIII. and ep. 1. lib. XII.

EPIST. LV.

L. *Livineius Trypho.*] It is not certain, when Cicero wrote this letter; but an expression in it makes it probable, that it was not long after he had returned from banishment. For by *his nostris temporibus* he undoubtedly means his struggles and contentions with Clodius, and his exile in consequence of them.

EPIST. LVI.

T. *Pinnio.*] P. Silius Nerva was governor of Bithynia and Pontus, at the same time that Cicero was governor of Cilicia. As this letter therefore relates to an affair in the province, that was under the command of Silius, it is highly probable, that it was written in the year U. C. 702. Ep. ad Attic. lib. VI. 1.

Secundum heredem instituerit.] The Roman lawyers inform us, that a person may be *secundus heres*, either by what they call *vulgari substitutione* or *pupillari substitutione*. That was called *vulgaris substitutio*, where a testator appointed more persons than one to be his heirs, upon this condition, that if the first should refuse to accept the inheritance, it should devolve to the second, and so on; and they were called *primus*, *secundus*, or *tertius heres*, according to the order, which they bore in the right of succession. But *pupillaris substitutio* was, when a father not only nominated his son to be his heir, but also nominated an heir to him, in case he should either die intestate, or before he arrived at the age of making a will. The person who was substituted in this manner, was likewise called *secundus heres*. Cicero was the *secundus heres* to Pinnius,

us, by this kind of substitution; and Horace alludes to it in the following passage, Sat. 2. 5. 45.

————— *Leniter in spem*

Arrepe officiosus, ut, et scribare secundus

Heres, et, si quis casus puerum egerit orco,

In vacuum venias.

Cicero de invent. 2. 24. Heinec. Antiq. lib. 2. tit. 16.

Ad HS. octogies.] about 70000 l. of our money.

EPIST. LVII.

¹ *ET in meo aere.*] Thus ep. 1. lib. XII. *multi enim anni sunt, cum ille in aere meo est.*

EPIST. LVIII.

¹ *NON putavi fieri posse.*] This letter is written in commendation of M. Lenius Flaccus, who had generously entertained Cicero at a villa of his near Brundisium, when he was in exil. Cicero mentions it with gratitude in the oration for Plancius, c. 41. and sent the following account of it to his wife: *I spent thirteen days, says he, with Flaccus, who for my sake slighted the risk of his fortunes and his life; nor was deterred by the penalty of the law from performing towards me all the rights of friendship and hospitality: I wish that it ever may be in my power to make him a proper return, I am sure that I shall always think myself obliged to do it,* ep. 1. lib. XIV.

Rem tibi exponam paucis verbis.] Gronovius thinks, that *verbis* ought to be omitted.

EPIST. LIX.

'*NERO meus.*] This letter was written about the same time with the others, which precede it. The business of it is, to return Silius thanks for the favours which he had shewn to Tiberius Claudius Nero, and to desire his continuance of them. This person was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and was afterwards the father of the emperor Tiberius. He was at this time a great favorite of Cicero, and had made some proposals of marrying his daughter. They were approved by Cicero; but the women, who seem to have had the entire management of this affair at Rome, were won by the gallantry, complaisance, and politeness of Dolabella, and had engaged themselves to him, before the messengers, who were sent to transact the business for Nero, arrived at Rome. ep. 6. ad Attic. lib. vi.

Magnum theatrum.] Although the Manuscripts agree in the reading of this place, yet I am inclined to think that there is some mistake in it, and that it ought to be read with Gronovius, *magnum theatrum habet ista provincia, non ut haec nostra, adolescentis nobilis, ingeniosi, abstinentis commendationem ad gloriam.* Thus Cicero de offic. 2. 13. *prima igitur est adolescenti commendatio ad gloriam.* The meaning of the whole seems to be this: *your province, not like mine, affords you a noble theatre, to act in; it gives you an opportunity of recommending to glory a noble, ingenious and modest young gentleman.*

EPIST. LX.

'*CUM P. Terentio Hispone, qui operas in scriptura pro magistro dat.*] *Operas dare* is frequently used by Cicero, to express the business of those, who were hired to collect the duties or customs in the provinces. Thus in Verr.

Verr. 2. 72. *litteras ad socios misisse L. Conuleium, qui in portu operas daret.* Again in a letter to Atticus concerning this very Terentius l. xi. ep. 10. *Operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit.* This also is the meaning of *operis dandis* in the sixth paradox, c. 2. *Nam, ut ii, qui honeste rem quaerunt mercaturis faciendis, operis dandis, publicis sumendis.* Cicero therefore in this letter recommends P. Terentius Hispo, a deputy-collector of the customs in Asia, which arose from the pasture and cattle. This tax was called *scriptura*, because it was levied according to a written account, which was delivered in by the owner of the cattel, and kept in a public register for that purpose. There were two other sort of taxes, which were collected in the provinces. The one called *Decumae*, or a tenth of the products of their corn-fields; the other *Portorium*, or a duty laid upon all merchandise, that was either exported or imported. vid. Burmann. de vectigal. Pop. Rom. II. p. 26. IV. 65. XI. 76. Heinec. appendic. ad Ant. Rom. c. IV. 115, &c.

EPIST. LXII.

¹*G**Ratae mihi vehementer tuae literae fuerunt.] This and the six following letters are written to P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, who was a person of great rank and nobility, and the son of that P. Servilius, who by his conquests near mount Taurus acquired the surname of Isauricus. He had passed through the highest honors of the state, had been quaestor provincialis A. U. 689; curule Aedile A. U. 694; Praetor A. U. 699, and consul with Jul. Caesar A. U. 705, and after the expiration of the last office was appointed governor of Asia; where he was, when this letter was written to him: for it seems to be an answer to the first letter, which Cicero had received from him after his arrival in the province. See his character in the life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 411.*

Id

Id est, de statu provinciae.] In Dr. Mead's Manuscript the reading is better than in the text : *si ad me de republica et de statu provinciae, de institutis tuis familiariter scribes.* Other Manuscripts confirm this reading both by omitting *id est*, and retaining *et*. And a little below, instead of *de reipublicae summa*, it ought to be *de re publica summa* in the opinion of Graevius and Gronovius.

² *Caesari collegae nostro.]* In the college of Augurs.

EPIST. LXIII.

¹ *EX provincia mea Ciliciensi.]* Cicero left the province of Cilicia in August A. U. 703, and this letter was written about four years after.

EPIST. LXIV.

¹ *Vulgariter et ambitiose.]* Victorius, Manutius, Lambin and Graevius retain *vulgariter*, tho' the MSS in general read *vulgare*. Pliny 5. lib. 8. 14, 28. uses it twice in the places, to which I have referred. vid. Cellarii cur. poster. p. 80.

² *In reliquiis veteris negotiationis.]* Graevius reads *reliquis*.

EPIST. LXVIII.

¹ *CERELLIAE necessariae meae.]* Cerellia was a philosophical lady, with whom Cicero had a particular friendship and kept up a correspondence of letters, upon account of her singular talents and uncommon improvement in learning. Dio Cassius, who takes all opportunities to treat Cicero with malignity, and to lessen his character in the opinion of the world, hath accused him of carrying on a criminal gallantry and living in adultery with her.

her. But upon the strictest enquiry the charge appears to be groundless. For Dio himself owns, that at the time of their most intimate acquaintance, she was seventy years old, and it appears from the general turn of Cicero's temper, that he never was inclined to indulge himself in such pleasures as those, or, as he writes himself in a letter to Poetus, *nothing of that sort had ever pleased him when young, much less, when he was old.* But there is one circumstance, that will undoubtedly acquit him in the opinion of the unprejudiced: for it appears from a letter to Atticus ep. 19. lib. xiv. that Cerellia was employed by Publilia, Cicero's second wife, and her friends to bring about a reconciliation with her husband at the beginning of their quarrel: but she would have been the most unfit person in the world to have been sent on such an errand, if she had either been Cicero's mistress or he had ever given them room to suspect his having any unlawful regard for her. Aufonius hath indeed been thought to refer to some indecent and amorous letters, which passed between Cicero and Cerellia, and were extant in his days: and his authority hath been urged in support of this blemish on Cicero's character: but whoever will take the trouble to read the whole passage as it stands in the text without the fanciful emendation of *the Critics*, will find, that it doth not relate either to Cicero or his philosophical female friend; but to Apuleius and another Cerellia. The passage is this: *esse Apuleium in vita philosophum, in epigrammatis amatorem, in praeceptis (omnibus) extare severitatem, in epistolis ad Cerelliam subesse petulantiam.* The reading of the common editions is *in praeceptis omnibus*; but the critics knew, that Cicero had *his Cerellia* as well as Apuleius; and therefore could not omit so favourable an opportunity of shewing the extent of their reading, as this, and would read *in praeceptis Ciceronis.* vid. Aufon. Cent. Nupt. et not in loc. Corradi Quaest. p. 385.

EPIST. LXIX.

TANTAE mihi cum Q. Hippius.] This letter is inscribed to the *Quatuorviri* and *Decuriones* of *Fregellae* a colony in Italy situated upon the banks of the *Liris* or as it is now called *il Garigliano*. The business of it is to intreat the magistrates of the place to confirm the title and possession of an estate, which C. Valgius a friend of Cicero, had purchased of that corporation. These towns had a form of government or constitution established among them, which had some resemblance to that at Rome. They had a senate, and the members of it were called *Decuriones*: and at the head of them they had either two or more persons, who had the supreme executive power, in the same manner as the Roman Consuls. For we find the number of these magistrates and their titles different according to the different customs of the towns over which they presided. It appears from this letter that at *Fregellae* they were called *Quatuorviri*.

EPIST. LXX.

CUM his temporibus.] The commentators are so much divided about the person, to whom this letter was written, that I did not venture to change its situation: though I have little reason to doubt, but that it was sent to P. Vatinius, A.U. 708, when he was governor of *Illyricum*, and about the same time, that the others were sent to him, which are in the fifth book. Dr. Mead's MS. doth not help to determine the dispute, for it is there without an inscription.

² *Jure nostrae veteris amicitiae.*] Manutius makes use of this expression as a proof, that the letter could not have been written to Vatinius, because Cicero and he had been old enemies. But this hath no weight at all and if allowed

to

to have any, it would prove that the letters in the fifth book were not written to Vatinius: because there are several expressions which disagree as much as this with the real character of Vatinius.

EPIST. LXXI.

ALLIENO *Proc.*] C. Allienus was proconsul of Sicily, when this letter was written to him. But we are led by the authority of Hirtius to fix that to the year U.C. 707. for Caesar embarked for Africa on the 27th of December in the preceding year; and at that time, as Hirtius says, *Allieno Praetori, qui Siciliam obtinebat, de omnibus rebus praecipit* c. 2. de bel. Afric. And he could not have had the government of that province sooner since Acilius was proconsul in the year U.C. 706.

THE REMARKS UPON THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

E*GO minus saepe ad vos.] Cicero finding that he had a greater power to contend with, than that of Clodius, withdrew himself from the city agreeably to the advice of his friends, about the latter end of March A.U. 695. at first he intended to have made Sicily the place of his residence, but C. Virgilius the praetor deterred by the power of Clodius, forbid him to enter the island. He changed his route therefore, and determined to retire into Greece, and in his way thither came to Brundisium upon the seventeenth of April and lodged at a Villa of M. Lenius Flaccus, which was at a small distance from the town. He stayed there thirteen days and embarked for Dyrracchium upon the last day of April, at which time he wrote this affectionate and moving letter to his wife and family at Rome. ep. ad Attic. lib. III. 2.6. 7. life of Cic. V.1. 353.*

² *Apud M. Lenium Flaccum.] Vid. ep. 58. lib. XIII.*

³ *Per Macedoniam Cyzicum.] Here is undoubtedly an error in the reading of this sentence, for he tells Atticus ep. 7. lib. III. that he came to Brundisium upon the xvth of the kalends of May or seventeenth of April, and in this letter he tells his wife, that he lodged with Lenius Flaccus thirteen days, which will fix his departure the day before*

before the kalends of May or the 30th of April. This letter also, as it hath been already observed, is dated from Brundisium upon that day. Instead therefore of *a. d. v. kal. Mai.* we must read *a. d. 11. kal. Mai.* for it is more likely, that the mistake should be in this place, than in the other two. Lambin approved of this alteration so much as to introduce it into his edition. Cicero therefore tells his wife, that he left Brundisium upon the last of April, and intended to pass through Macedonia in his way to Cyzicum, where he should probably take up his residence. This was a town in an island of the Propontis joined to the continent by two bridges and of great note in the days of Cicero. Flor. 3. 5. Appian. in Mithrid.

* *Illius misellae matrimonio et famae.*] Tullia, Cicero's daughter had been married to *C. Piso Frugi* the year before Cicero's consulship. He was a young nobleman of great hopes and one of the noblest families in Rome, descended from *L. Piso*, who was consul A. U. 620, and obtained the name of *Frugi* upon account of his prudent management of the public revenues. He behaved always in a dutiful and affectionate manner to Cicero, resigned his Quaestorship in Bithynia in order to serve him more effectually at Rome, and was now soliciting his friends to take the first opportunity of repealing *Clodius's* law. But Cicero was apprehensive lest he should suffer any injury upon his account, and therefore advises his family to do nothing, which should disturb the happiness of his daughter's marriage or hurt her reputation.

† *De familia.*] With regard to the slaves, you need not be uneasy; for no other promise was made to yours, than that you would treat them as they deserved: and mine had their liberty given them upon this condition, that if my estates and possessions were confiscated, they should be free; but if the malice of my enemies did not go so far, they

they were to continue in their former state, except a few, whose fidelity merited the reward of freedom.

Sicca.] This was very probably the person, who entertained Cicero several days at Vibo, a town in the Southern part of Italy, soon after he retired from the city. lib. III. ad Attic. ep. 2. 4.

EPIST. II.

¹ *NOLI putare me.*] This is the second letter of those that are extant, which Cicero wrote to his wife after his banishment. It is dated the 5th of October from Thessalonica, the head-quarters of his friend Cn. Plancius, who was quaestor in Macedonia, and the only person in a public character, that treated Cicero with any real marks of friendship during his exile. Pro. Plancio. 41.

² *In novis tribunis plebis.*] The new tribuns entered upon their office upon the 10th of December, and they were all, except two, firmly attached to Cicero's cause, and determined to recall him from exile. Life of Cicero, v. i. 381.

³ *Quemadmodum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam.*] Terentia had taken sanctuary in the temple of Vesta, but was dragged out of it forcibly, by the order of Clodius, to a public office, to be examined about her husband's effects. *Tabula* properly signifies a public bill or catalogue, in which confiscated estates, and other effects, intended for sale, were entered at the shops of the bankers. Hence it is frequently used either for the place, where these registers were kept, or for the auction itself. It is used in the former sense in this passage, and in the oration for Quintius c. 6. *Ipse suos ab atriis Liciniis et a faucibus macelli corrogat, ut ad Tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora secunda.* And in the latter, in the oration for Caecina, c. 6. *Aebutio negotium datur. Adest ad tabulam. Licetur Aebutius.* For, *adesse*
ad

ad tabulam is equivalent to *interesse auctioni*, vid. Ep. ad Attic. XII. 40. XIII. 3.

* *De area.*] After Clodius had passed the law against Cicero, he plundered, burned and demolished his houses both in town and country; and that he might make the loss irretrievable, he consecrated the area, where his palatin house stood, to the perpetual service of religion, and built a temple upon it, to the goddess Liberty. Life of Cicero, v. I. 340.

Illud doleo.] But those things, says Cicero, are not in our own power. What affects me most is, that, when so great an expence is necessary, great part of it should fall upon you, who are so miserably stript and plundered already. It appears from hence, that Terentia had an estate not obnoxious to Clodius's law, and it is that, which Cicero intreats her in this and the following letter, not to throw away for little or no advantage to either of them. For as Graevius hath observed: *rem projicere* signifies the same as *rem viliori pretio vendere*. Thus Flor. 2. cap. 16: *quid vestium, quidve tabularum, ruptum, incensum, atque projectum est! nimirum milites Romanos, ignorantes pretium statuarum et picturarum, vilissimo eos vendidisse pretio.*

EPIST. III.

* *ET literis multorum.*] L. Calpurnius Piso, who was one of the consuls this year, and an enemy of Cicero, had the government of Macedonia appointed him after the expiration of the consulship; and his troops began to arrive in Thessalonica in great numbers already. Cicero therefore thought it proper to remove himself from thence, and returned back to Dyrrachium, upon the 25th of November, from whence he sent this letter; though the whole, except a short postscript, seems to have been written before he departed from Thessalonica. This way

of reconciling the apparent contradictions between the conclusion and the other parts of this letter is confirmed by a letter to Atticus, which he dates from Dyracchium the same day with this, though he expressly says he wrote the greater part at Thessalonica. Ep. 22. lib. III.

² *Qui cum primum sapere coepit.*] Young Cicero was now about seven or eight years old. Epist. ad Attic. 2. lib. I. Life of Cicero, v. I. 146. Tunstalli Epist. ad C. M. p. 7.

³ *Qui ab me his amari putabam.*] Cicero thought himself betrayed by Pompey, Hortensius, and many others of the Aristocratical party; and not only hints at it in this place, but openly complains of it in several letters to Atticus, and his brother. He expresses himself in this manner in a letter to the latter: *quantum Hortensio credendum sit, nescio; me summa simulatione amoris, summaque assiduitate quotidiana sceleratissime insidiosissimeque tractavit, adjuncto quoque Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, praeceptis destitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi.* Epist. 3. lib. I. Life of Cicero, v. I. 317. 231. 343. Ep. ad Attic. lib. 3. Ep. 10, 13, &c.

Eos non sequebar, qui petebant.] Caesar and Crassus solicited him frequently to unite himself to them, and promised on the one hand to protect him, by their power, from the storm, which threatened him, provided, that he on the other hand would support them by his credit and reputation. Orat. de prov. Cons. c. 17. Life of Cicero, v. I. 288, 315.

⁴ *Quo neque Hypso veniret.*] Read *quo neque Piso veniret.* The MSS. support this reading. Dr. Mead's reads *ipso*. See the first Remark upon this letter.

⁵ *De Q. fratre nihil ego te accusavi.*] Quintus Cicero and Terentia were both of a peevish temper, and had great disputes with each other. This added much to the uneasiness of Cicero; and tho' in this place he acquits his wife

wife of all blame, yet in some of his letters to Atticus he seems to throw it entirely upon her. lib. IV. ep. 1. 2.

EPIST. IV.

† *ACCEPI ab Aristocrito.*] Cicero was prodigiously impatient of his present situation, and perplexed with a variety of fears and suspicions, though his cause proceeded prosperously at Rome, and seemed to be in such a train, that it could not be long obstructed after the new magistrates entered upon their office. He undoubtedly received intelligence of every thing, which his friends were transacting in his favor; but he distrusted all the informations which were brought him, and wrote this letter about five days after that, which precedes it, in the stile and spirit of one, that despaired of ever seeing his friends, or visiting his country again. He sent another to Atticus, written at the same time, and in the same strain with this: but though he did not return to Rome till seven or eight months after the date of this letter, and most probably wrote many more letters to his wife; yet there is not one extant later than this, during the remaining time of his exile. Epist. ad Attic. lib. III. Ep. 3.

² *Vel legatione vitare periculum.*] Cicero blames himself for involving his family in such a train of calamities and misfortunes, which he had in his power to have avoided, either by accepting the lieutenancy, which Caesar offered him, or by defending himself by force or violence, or lastly, by killing himself, and dying bravely. He declined the first, because he was unwilling to owe the obligation of his safety to Caesar. The advice of his friends determined him to avoid the second, by retreating till the storm blew over; and the intreaties of Atticus, and the tears of his wife and daughter, dissuaded him from destroying himself. epist. ad Attic. 2. lib. 18. lib. 3. ep. 8. 9. 15. Dio. p. 70. epist. ad Q. F. i. 3.

EPIST. V.

¹ *SI tu et Tullia lux nostra valetis.*] Cicero arrived at Athens in his return from his province, A. U. 703, upon the fourteenth of October, and about three or four days after wrote this letter to his wife and daughter at Rome.

² *Sive nos ipsos.*] That is, his brother, his own Son, and his nephew, the younger Quintus.

³ *De hereditate Preciana.*] Precius, who ever he was, had left a considerable legacy to Cicero, who expresses his concern for the loss of his friend; but gives directions to his wife, to employ either Pomponius Atticus, or Camillus the lawyer, to manage his interest in the sale, if it cannot be put off till he comes himself to Rome. It may be observed, that it was a custom at Rome for the Clients and dependants of great men, to leave at their death a considerable share of their fortunes to their patrons, in testimony of their affection and gratitude; and the greater number of such kind of legacies were left to any person, the more honourable, and more deserving was he judged of the esteem and love of his fellow-citizens. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 514.

EPIST. VI.

¹ *SI vos valetis, nos valemus.*] Cicero on his arrival at Rome, upon the fourth of January A. U. 704, fell into the very flame of civil discord, and found the war in effect proclaimed between Caesar and Pompey. But neither he, nor any other of the principal senators continued long there; for Caesars sudden march towards the city made them all resolve to retreat from thence. Cicero took his leave of it about the 18th or 19th of January, and most probably sent this letter to his wife and daughter

ter at Rome, upon the 23d or 24th. For it appears from a letter to Atticus, that he was at Minturnae, from whence the letter is dated, upon the 23d, and the women had left the city, and were at Formiae upon the second of February. And what still confirms this account, he seems to refer either to this or the following letter in another to Atticus, which was written the 25th, in the following passage: *de mulieribus nostris, in quibus est tua soror, quaeso videas, ut satis honestum nobis sit eas Romae esse, cum caeterae ulla dignitate discefferint. Hoc scripsi ad eas, et ad te antea. Velim eas cohortere, ut exeant.* Epist. 14. lib. VII. and Ep. 13. 17, 18. The date therefore of this letter must be altered from the VIII Kal. Quint. to VIII Kal. Februarii.

² *Labienus rem meliorem fecit.*] T. Labienus revolted from Jul. Caesar to Pompey, and joined himself to the latter upon the 22d of January. Epist. ad Attic. VII. 13. *Labienus, vir mea sententia magnus, Theanum venit a. d. IX. Kal. Ibi Pompeium consulesque convenit.*

³ *Piso.*] L. Piso, Caesar's father-in-law. He left the city upon Caesar's approach, but did not unite himself to Pompey.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *Considerandum vobis etiam atque etiam.*] This letter was written upon the same occasion with, and, if I mistake not the day after that, which precedes it; But there is an error in the date. For instead of the ixth of the Kalends, it ought to be the seventh of the Kalends. For, as it hath been already observed, he was at Minturnae upon the viiith, at Cales upon the viith, and therefore most probably at Formiae upon the viiith. Epist. ad Attic. 14. lib. VII.

EPIST. VIII.

OMNES molestias et sollicitudines.] After much doubt and deliberation, Cicero at last determined to follow Pompey into Greece, and wrote this letter to his wife immediately after he had embarked. There is no letter extant either to Atticus, or his other friends, that was written later than this, during the remaining part of the year U.C. 704. It is probable therefore that the date, which is preserved at the conclusion of the letter, is the true one: and indeed his whole correspondence with Italy seems to have been entirely cut off: for from June, in which he sailed, there is an intermission of about nine months in the series of his letters, and not more than four written to Atticus during the war. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 112. Fabric. Histor. Cicer. A.U. 704.

Χολὴν ἀκρατον.] *Meram bilem*; unmixed phlegm.

EPIST. IX.

SI vales, bene est, ego valeo.] This letter was written by Cicero in the camp at Dyracchium A.U. 705. for there is one extant to Atticus later than this, and dated from the camp. ep. 18. lib. XI.

EPIST. X.

SI vales, bene est, valeo.] This letter was written about the same time with that, which goes before it.

EPIST. XI.

NEC sæpe est, cui literas demus.] Cicero wanted to raise money to pay the second payment of Tullia's fortune to Dolabella: but Terentia wrote him word, that it was not possible to sell any estate during the present turbulent situation of the public affairs. In this letter there-
fore

fore he desires her to contrive some other method to satisfy him; for he fully intended to do it. I was led to this interpretation by a letter, that was written to Atticus about the same time, where this affair is plainly referred to in the following passage. *Quod ad kal. Quint. pertinet, quid vellem; utrumque grave est tam gravi tempore, periculum tantae pecuniae, et, dubio rerum exitu, ea quam scribis abruptio.* ep. 3. lib. XI. But it appears from hence, that he doubted what he should do: if he paid the money, and Caesar should be defeated, it would undoubtedly be lost; and if he refused to pay it, and sued for a divorce, as Atticus advised him, that would be equally dangerous. For if Caesar got the better, Dolabella would certainly resent such usage as that. See also ep. 4. lib. XI. ad Attic.

² *Quod nostra tibi gratias egit.*] Tullia.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *QUOD nos in Italiam.*] After the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, Cicero resolved to have nothing more to do with the war, but returned to Italy about the end of October A.U. 705. He wrote this letter from Brundisium in the beginning of November, in answer to one from his wife, wherein she had congratulated him upon his safe arrival. ep. ad Attic. 6. lib. XI. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 126, &c.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *IN maximis meis doloribus.*] This letter was most probably written about the end of November; for he wrote a letter to Atticus from Brundisium upon the twenty-seventh of that month, in which he takes notice of Tullia's illness. *Tulliae meae morbus et imbecillitas corporis me exanimat.* ep. 6. lib. XI.

² *Sed a Pomponio expecto literas.*] It appears from the above cited letter, that Atticus advised Cicero to come from Brundisium. He wrote therefore this letter to his

wife before that letter was written to Atticus; that is, before the twenty-seventh of November.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *EGO autem quomodo sim affectus.*] This letter was written about the twenty-fifth of December: for it is probable, that it was sent at the same time, that he sent another to Atticus, which begins in this manner; *Quantis curis afficiar, etsi profecto vides, tamen cognosces ex Lepta et Trebatio.* ep. 8. lib. xi.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *SI vales, bene est.*] Vid. ep. ad Attic. 9. lib. xi.

² *Ut ii voluerunt.*] Manutius refers this to Dolabella, who had persuaded him to return too soon to Italy, and to put himself in the power of the conqueror: but he is mistaken; for Cicero took that step without the advice of any of his friends, and always blames himself alone for it. I am therefore inclined to think, that he hints at his brother and nephew, and those other persons, who prevailed upon him first of all to leave Italy, and to follow the fortunes of Pompey. This explication is greatly confirmed by a letter to Atticus, which was written about three days after this; and wherein he expressly bewails that part of his conduct, and lays the blame upon Quintus. *Cessi meis, says he, vel potius parui: ex quibus unus qua mente fuerit is, quem tu mihi commendas, cognosces ex ipsius literis, quas ad te et ad alios misit.* For by *unus* he means his brother. ep. 9. lib. xi. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 128.

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *TULLIA nostra venit ad me.*] Cicero continued still at Brundisium, nor did he think it safe to move towards Rome, till Julius Caesar returned from Ægypt. In

In this disagreeable situation therefore Tullia paid her father a visit there upon the thirteenth of June; and he gives the same account of their meeting in a letter to Atticus, that he does in this to his wife. ep. 17. lib. XI. *Tullia ad me venit pridie Id. Jun. — Ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate, non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibili sum dolore affectus, tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari.*

² *In animo Ciceronem ad Caesarem.*] Ep. ad Attic. 16, 17. lib. XI. Life of Cicer. 2. 143.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *OBVIAM Ciceronem.*] He gives the same reason to Atticus, ep. 18. lib. XI.

² *Tulliam adhuc.*] Tullia was with him now; but it is not certain how much longer she continued with him.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *QUOD fieri placeret, scripsi ad Pomponium.*] The letter, to which he refers, is the twenty-fifth in the edition of Graevius, and nineteenth in Mr. Mongault's. And it appears from thence, that the business to be communicated to Terentia, related to the making of her own will, and to the third payment of Tullia's fortune to Dolabella.

EPIST. XX.

¹ *QUOD scripsi de nuntio remittendo.*] *Nuntium remittere* properly signifies *to send a bill of divorcement*. Cicero and his friends had been long thinking of procuring a divorce between Tullia and Dolabella; but they were unwilling and afraid to provoke the resentment of a person, that had so large a share of power and interest in the party, that was at present uppermost in the republic. Cicero therefore tells his wife, that with regard to the divorce,
about

about which he had lately written to her, he did not know how great the power of Dolabella may be, nor what tumults were in the city at this time. But if there was any reason to apprehend his anger, she had better be quiet at present, and perhaps he himself will make the first motion for it. This affair is frequently hinted at in the letters, which were written to Atticus about this time. It is to be wondered therefore, how Manutius and the greater part of the commentators could be so much mistaken, as to refer this letter to the divorce between Cicero and Terentia. ep. ad Attic. 17. 20. lib. XI.

² *Quies tamen ab illo.*] This passage is very corrupt. Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *Si metuendus est iratus, quies tamen ab ipso aliquando nascetur.* Another, *quiesce tamen fortasse ab illo nascetur.* A third, *quiesces tamen ab illo; fortasse nascetur totum; judicabis quale sit.* It ought therefore to be read thus; *Sed si metuendus iratus est, quiesce; tum ab illo fortasse nascetur. Totum judicabis, quale sit.* Thus in the above quoted letter to Atticus; *Petet fortasse tertiam pensionem. Considera igitur tumne cum ab ipso nascetur, an prius ego.*

EPIST. XXI.

¹ *NOS neque de Caesaris adventu.*] Caesar was detained much longer at Alexandria, than he at first expected; and Cicero was under great anxiety, because he had neither received any letter from him, nor been able to discover what his disposition would be with regard to himself. But he was in expectation to receive some by the hands of Philotimus, who had been sent by him to Caesar, and was at this time upon his return. ep. ad Attic. edit. Graev. 24. edit. Mong. 22. lib. XI. Life of Cic. 2. 137. 142.

EPIST. XXIV.

IN Tusculanum nos venturos.] Cicero continued at Brundisium till Caesar arrived in Italy, who came much sooner than he was expected, and landed at Tarentum some time in September. They had an interview with each other, which ended much to the satisfaction of Cicero. He was discharged from his disagreeable confinement at Brundisium, and making hast to follow Caesar towards Rome, wrote this letter to his wife, to acquaint her, that he intended to be at his Tusculan Villa on the seventh or eighth of October; and desired her to provide for his reception there, and a large company of friends, who would attend him thither. It is not known what sort of meeting Terentia and Cicero had; but it is certain, that he was much displeased with her conduct during his absence, and did not bear with her humor long after this: for he divorced her some time in the following year, after having lived with her above thirty years. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 148.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
FIFTEENTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

‘*CUM pridie kalend. Sextil.*] Cicero arrived upon the last day of July A.U. 702. at Laodicea, one of the capital cities of his jurisdiction, and dated the commencement of his provincial command from thence: and being unwilling to let the summer pass without action, he put himself at the head of his army, and encamped at Iconium about the middle of August. But hearing that his troublesome neighbours, the Parthians, were in motion, he made hast to march to that side of his province, which was most accessible to them, and encamped at Cybistra, at the foot of mount Taurus; and about the middle of September sent this public letter to the magistrates and senate of Rome, to acquaint them with that, which he had done both in obedience to their commands, and, for the security of his province, agreeably to his own prudence. I have fixed the time of writing the letter to the middle of September, because it appears from a letter to Atticus, that it was read in the senate upon the seventh of October. ep. 21. lib. v. *quo die Cassii literae victrices in senatu recitatae sunt, id est, nonis Octobris, eodem meae.* See also the eighteenth and nineteenth of the same book.

Tempus

² *Tempus ejus tridui.*] In the letter to Atticus, to which I have referred in the preceding remark, Cicero says, that he stayed five days: *quinque dies ad Cybistra Cappadocia castra habuissem.* These two accounts may be reconciled, if we suppose, that in the one place he reckons the two days, on which he came and went away; and in the other only the compleat days, which he spent entirely in that camp.

³ *Ut ego regem Ariobarzanem.*] This Ariobarzanes is the third of that name, who reigned in Cappadocia, and is the grandson of that Ariobarzanes, who was appointed to govern the kingdom, when, upon the extinction of the Royal family and the permission of the Roman people, the Cappadocians refused to receive their liberty. Justin. lib. 38. 2. Strabo lib. 12. Cicero gives him in this place the titles of EUSEBES or *pious*, and PHILOROMÆUS or *a lover of the Roman people*; and he assumed the same himself in his coins.

⁴ *Quod ei permagnum.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *quod mihi permagnum* &c. but it is wrong. We ought rather to read with some other MSS. *quod et ei permagnum et honorificum videbatur.*

⁵ *Amicosque patris ejus avique judicio probatos.*] We must understand by *Amici* the counsellors and ministers of the king, who had been recommended by the experience and authority of his father and grandfather, they are called by another name, *comites*. Thus Spartian in Adrian. c. 18. *quum judicaret, in consilio habuit non amicos suos aut comites sed jurisconsultos et praecipue J. Celsum* &c. vid. Salmas. not.

EPIST. II.

¹ *ESTI non dubie mihi nuntiabatur.*] Cicero in the foregoing letter to the senate had not descended into any particulars relating to the motions of the Parthians,
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because he thought it more properly belonged to M. Bibulus, the governor of Syria, than to himself; and he waited to have his intelligence confirmed by better authority. But when he found, that Bibulus was not yet arrived at his province, and that the danger began to draw near to himself, he determined not to defer writing to the senate any longer, and sent them this letter about the latter end of September, for it could not have been later, since he was not yet come to Tarsus, at which place he arrived upon the 5th of October. ep. 2. ad Attic. lib. v.

² *A. D. XIII Kal. Octob.*] Cicero was at Cybistra, when he received the intelligence from *Tarcondimotus*. This person was governor, or king of a small territory in the upper Cilicia, for we find his name in the list of the princes, who made up the army of M. Antony in the wars against Augustus. Dio p. 422 &c. ep. ad Attic. 20. v.

³ *Trans taurum.*] Concerning Mt. Taurus see ep. 7. lib. 3. rem. 1. But let it be further observed, that Cilicia and all that part of Asia minor, which lies on the southern side of mount Taurus is frequently called *Asia trans taurum* or *extra Taurum*; and the other part which lies on the northern side is called *Cis Taurum* or *intra Taurum*.

⁴ *Castra posuisse Tybae.*] The geographers are not able to discover the situation of this place; because it is not mentioned in any other author but Cicero.

⁵ *Jamblichus, Phylarchus Arabum.*] This is probably the same person, who was tortured by the order of M. Antony not long before the battle of Actium and expired upon the rack. Plat. in Auten. Vell. Pater. lib. 2. c. 84. Dio.

⁶ *Exercitum ad Taurum institui ducere.*] I think there must be some mistake in this, for Cicero was at the foot of mount Taurus upon the 21st of September, *nos in Cappadocia ad Taurum cum exercitu ad Cybistra*. ep. ad Att. 18. v. and a few lines above, he declares his intention of going into Cilicia, that he might encourage by his presence

sence those, who were in the interest of the Roman people and put a stop to the insurrections there: We must therefore read instead of *ad Taurum*, either *trans Taurum* or *ad Tarsum*, either of these alterations remove all the difficulty, though I cannot help preferring the latter: because Cicero proposed to go to Tarsus a principal city of Cilicia, and actually did arrive there upon the fifth of October. *Cum certior factus sum Parthos.—Ciliciae magis imminere, itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarsum veni A. D. IIII. non Octob.*

[*Quibus vectigalia P. R. continentur.*] It will not perhaps be thought improper to observe, that the Roman people, when they conquered a nation, and reduced it to the form of a province, either laid a certain tribute or tax upon it, which was to be paid annually; or else reserved to themselves a right of levying a certain proportion of the product of the land, and the labour of the inhabitants either in trade or husbandry. In the former case, the people were said to be *tributarii* or *stipendiarii*; in the latter *vectigales*. It must be owned, that, though this distinction is grounded upon good authority, yet it is not always observed. Cicero however uses *vectigalia* here in the proper sense, for the Asiatic provinces were *vectigales* and not *stipendiariae*. Cujac. Observ. VII. 4. Burman. de vectig. P. R. I.

EPIST. III.

[*CUM ad me legati.*] This letter was undoubtedly written about the beginning of September, for it was sent to acquaint Cato with the news, which he had received from Antiochus the king of Commagene at the camp of Iconium; and before either of the two public letters to the magistrates and senate. But he removed from Iconium on the last day of August, and his first public letter was written about the twenty first of September. It

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cannot therefore be a mistake in supposing this to have been written in the beginning of that month. Cicero seems to have made this singular compliment to Cato of acquainting him with the affairs of his province, out of a high opinion of his reputation and authority ; and in order to prejudice him, if possible, in his favour, if he should have an opportunity of applying to the senate for the public honours of a thanksgiving or triumph. For Cicero well knew in what part this man of signal virtue and inflexible integrity was vulnerable, and that if an application was made either to his pride, or ambition he might possibly be drawn in to support his pretensions ; though the moroseness and severity of his principles made him an enemy to all claims of that kind.

² *Ad Iconium a. d. III. non Sept.]* The commentators have long ago observed, that there is a mistake in the text in this place, and that we ought to read a. d. III Kal. Sept. for he removed his camp from Iconium upon the last day of August. Thus in a letter to Appius ep. 6. lib. III. *Castra movi ab Iconio pridie Kal. Sept.*

³ *Ut quae copiis et opibus.]* Vid. ep. 3. lib. III. rem. 2.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *SUMMA tua auctoritas fecit.]* Cicero in this letter to Cato gives him a large and full account of his transactions in the province of Cilicia from his first arrival there to the surrendry of Pindenissum ; and concludes with desiring him to concur with the senate in the public thanksgiving, which he demanded, and explaining the motives, which induced him to make this earnest application for it. He most probably wrote it about the same time that he wrote the public letters to the senate. Those are not now extant ; but the time of writing them may be determined by a passage in a letter to Atticus, which was written after the 26th of December, for he says in that letter, that

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he was then preparing to send in a few days his public letters to the senate. ep. 20. lib. v. This letter therefore to Cato and the public letters to the senate were not sent till after the 26th of December. But it is not to be supposed that he deferred sending either of them many days, therefore we cannot be much mistaken in fixing their date to the beginning of January A. U. 704.

² *Tum praesentia.*] Dr. Mead's MS: as well as almost all the others, that have been consulted by the commentators retain *praesentia*. It ought not therefore to be rejected out of the text. Victorius reads *praesenti*. Lambin, *praesstanti*. Graevius makes no alteration in this word, but thinks that *magnitudine* did not originally belong to the text, and that it is a marginal explication of *praesentia*. But *magnitudine* is supported by the authority of the MSS. as well as *praesentia*. Both therefore must be retained and the place read thus: *vir cum benevolentia et fide erga populum R. singulari, tum praesentia ac magnitudine et animi et consilii.*

³ *Si sacerdos armis se.*] The priest of the temple of Bellona at Comana a city of great note in Cappadocia. He was always of the blood-royal and next in authority and dignity to the king. This is the account, which Hirtius in speaking of Caesar's arrival there, gives of him, de bel. Alexan. 53. *magnis itineribus per Cappadociam confectis, bidduum Mazacae commoratus venit Comana, vetustissimum in Cappadocia Bellonae templum, quod tanta religione colitur, ut sacerdos ejus deae majestate, imperio et potentia secundus a Rege consensu gentis illius habeatur.*

⁴ *Cuidam clarissimo atque optimo viro.*] It is not certain to what person Cicero refers in this place. Some are of Opinion, that he alludes to Caesar: others to his Collegue in the consulship, C. Antonius.

⁵ *Itaque et provinciam.*] The province of Macedonia fell to Cicero's lot, when he was consul; but he exchanged it with his Collegue for Cisalpine Gaul; and afterwards

resigned that to Q. Metellus. And in the year U.C. 694, there was a vacancy in the college of Augurs, which he might easily have obtained by the assistance of the triumvirate: but he neither was willing to receive any favor from them, nor ever gave himself any trouble to solicit them, though it was *the only bait*, as he says himself, *that could tempt him*. ep. ad. Attic. 2. 5. life of Cicer. v. 1. 318. But in the year U.C. 700, a vacancy in the same college being made by the death of young Crassus, he declared himself a candidate and was chosen by the unanimous approbation of the whole body. Life of Cicer. v. 1. 529. ep. ad Attic. 6. vi.

EPIST. V.

¹ *QUOD et respublica me.*] Cato was not moved by the foregoing letter: but, when Cicero's request came under deliberation, he voted against the thanksgiving, though he spoke largely in commendation of his prudence and moderation, and after it was resolved upon, assisted in drawing up the decree, and inserted his own name in it. This is the letter, which he wrote immediately after it had passed, to explain the motives, on which he acted in this affair, and is the more valuable as it is the only remains of one of the most glaring characters of antiquity, and gives us an insight into his temper and principles.

² *Administrare gaudeam.*] Dr. Mead's MSS. reads *administrari*, and Manutius explains it to signify the same as *exerceri*: but this explanation is unnatural, and unsupported by any authority, and the greater number of MSS. exhibit the reading in the text. *Administrare* is elegantly used for *administrare provinciam*. Graevius hath produced several examples of the like nature from the chastest writers; one of which from Caesar will be sufficient in this place, de bel. civ. III. 26. *illi, adhibita audacia et virtute, administrantibus M. Antonio et Fusio Caleno, naves solvunt.*

³ *Quod*

³ *Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas.*] That is, *but if you think a supplication will be the forerunner or omen of a triumph.* For, *praerogativa* is a word borrowed from the assemblies of the people. In collecting the votes, it was usual to determine by lot, which century should give its vote first, and that century, upon which the lot fell, was called *Centuria praerogativa*, and from thence they took an *omen* of, or judged, whether the event of their meeting would be fortunate or unfortunate. For as Cicero says de div. 145. *praerogativam etiam majores omen justorum comitiorum esse voluerunt.* Hence *praerogativa* comes in a metaphorical sense to signify an *omen*. Thus Cicero in ver. 1. 9. *dedit praerogativam suae voluntatis, ut eam pro praerogativis reddidisse videatur.*

EPIST. VI.

L*AETUS* *sum laudari me.*] This is Cicero's answer to Cato, in which, though he could not but be a little displeased with Cato's behaviour, yet he expresses an intire satisfaction in the testimony, which he gave to his character, and prefers it to the honor of any triumph. And I am inclined to think, that these were his real sentiments, when he wrote this letter: for they agree with that, which he wrote to Atticus about the same time. *Cogitabis*, says he, *de triumpho, quem vides, nisi reip. tempora impediunt, εὐπορίῃσιν.* *Judico autem cum ex literis amicorum, tum ex supplicatione; quam qui non decrevit, plus decrevit, quam si omnes decreisset triumphos.* — *Cato autem et scribendo affuit; et ad me de sententia sua jucundissimas literas misit.* ep. 1. lib. VII. It must be owned indeed, that he writes in the next letter, which he sent to Atticus, in a different strain: but his change of sentiments is highly justified by an unpardonable inconsistency in Cato's behaviour. For this man, who pretended, upon principle, to oppose a supplication in Cicero's name, assisted in pro-

curing one for his son-in-law Bibulus, whose character at Rome was contemptible and mean in comparison of Cicero's, and whose behaviour in the province, which he commanded, was timid, cowardly and oppressive. Cicero therefore might well say, when he heard of this: *Cato—in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, justitiae, clementiae, fidei mihi testimonium, quod non quaerebam; quod postulabam negavit. Itaque Caesar iis literis, quibus mihi gratulatur et omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratiissimi injuria? At hic idem Bibulo dierum xx. Ignosce mihi, non possum haec ferre, nec feram.* ep. 2. lib. viii.

EPIST. VI.

M*AXIMA* *sum laetitia affectus.*] Cicero wrote this letter from his province in the year U.C. 702, to congratulate C. Claudius Marcellus on his election to the consulship. Whether he had so sincere a regard for the family of the Marcelli, as he professes, may be doubted: but it was certainly good policy in him to make his court to them at this time, because they had it in their power to serve him in the nomination of a successor to him, which was a point much laboured by him, and what he had set his heart upon. It will not perhaps be improper to observe, that one of this family was consul in the year U.C. 702, and another in the year 704.

EPIST. VIII.

M*ARCELLUM* *tuum, consulem factum.*] This letter was written at the same time and upon the same occasion with that, which precedes it. It is inscribed to C. Marcellus the father of him, who was elected to the consulship, and congratulates him upon his sons success. Cicero calls him his colleague, because he was a member of the college of Augurs. de div. ii. 35.

EPIST.

EPIST. IX.

QUANDO *id accidit, quod mihi.*] This letter is written to C. Marcellus, the consul, to beg his concurrence and interest in procuring a decree for a public thanksgiving in Cicero's name, and most probably sent to him at the same time that the fourth letter was sent to Cato and the public letters to the senate: that is, in the beginning of January A. U. 703.

EPIST. X.

QUANTAE *curae tibi meus honos.*] This is the letter, which Cicero wrote to C. Marcellus to return him thanks for the share, which he had in procuring him the thanksgiving, and it was written about the middle of the year U. C. 703.

EPIST. XI.

ETSI *mibi nunquam fuit dubium.*] L. AEmilius Paulus was elected consul with C. Marcellus, and Cicero wrote this letter to congratulate him upon his success at the same time, that he wrote the seventh to Marcellus. There is therefore a mistake in the inscription, for Cicero had not been saluted Emperor by his soldiers, when this letter was written. But he desires the same favor, which he desired of his other friends; to take care, that his command be not continued to him longer than one year, and he turns this to a polite compliment to Paulus by telling him, that he desires it so much the more, that he may have the pleasure of seeing him govern the commonwealth with dignity and integrity. But this was nothing more than a compliment: for both Cicero and all honest men looked upon him as one not to be trusted, and the event soon proved, that their suspicions were well grounded, for he soon betrayed his own party and sold himself to Caesar.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *MAXIME mihi fuit optatum:*] This letter is written to beg the interest of Paulus in procuring the thanksgiving, for which he had applied to the senate and to Marcellus; and consequently it was sent to Rome at the same time, that those letters were. vid. ep. 9.

EPIST. XIII.

³ *ET Epistolam tuam legi libenter.*] C. Trebonius was of an ancient family, but not much known in the annals of Rome: the most remarkable of his predecessors was L. Trebonius a tribun in the year U.C. 305, who acquired the surname of *Asper* from the violent opposition which he made to the nobles and senate. But in whatever obscurity his ancestors were, he broke through it by the favor of Caesar, and imported into his family the highest honors of the state. He was quaestor in the year U. C. 693. Tribun A. U. 698, after that lieutenant to Caesar in Gaul, and appointed by him to conduct the celebrated siege of Marseilles. He then returned to Rome and was praetor in the year U.C. 705, and in the following year was sent upon an extraordinary commission into Spain. About that time he made a collection of Cicero's sayings and sent them to Cicero; and this gave an occasion of writing this letter to him in Spain. Livi. lib. III. 65.

² *Tum discedis a nobis.*] He went, as it has been already observed, A.U. 706, by Caesar's order into Spain.

³ *Inimicitias mecum communicasti.*] The quarrels, in which Trebonius engaged for the sake of Cicero, were those with Clodius. For Trebonius was quaestor the same year that Clodius made his first attempt to be adopted into a plebeian family, and he assisted the consuls and other magistrates in opposing it. Life of Cicer. v. 1. 280.

⁴ *Ut haec recentia.*] The first instances of Trebonius's friendship, to which Cicero alludes, were his concern for Cicero's engaging in the civil war and following Pompey into Greece; his joy upon Cicero's leaving him and returning into Italy after the battle of Pharsalia; his anxiety for Cicero's uneasy situation at Brundisium, and his intention of paying him a visit there, if he had not been commanded into Spain. There is no occasion to enlarge upon any of these particulars, because they have been frequently touched upon in the course of the foregoing remarks.

⁶ *Sive sic.*] Others read: *sive secus.*

⁷ *Confido futurum satis.*] Manutius reads: *facturum satis.* But the other will do, and it is supported by Dr. Mead's as well as many other MSS.

⁸ *Ego illas Calvo literas.*] This correspondence with Licinius Calvus was carried on upon the subject of eloquence. He was one of those orators, who affected a minute and ridiculous correctness, and aimed at what they called an *Attic* or *classical style*. Cicero hath left us his character in the following passage, and at the same time hath delivered his sentiments upon his manner of speaking: *sed ad Calvum revertamur: qui orator fuisset cum literis eruditior, quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius afferebat genus: quod quanquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans, metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris: a multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur.* De clar. Orat. 82. Life of Cicer. 2. 533.

⁹ *Nam professionem amore prosequar.*] It appears from hence, that Trebonius was most probably upon his journey into Spain, when Cicero wrote this letter. It was therefore written in the year U.C. 706.

EPIST. XIV.

ORATOREM meum, sic enim inscripsi.] It is not known, how long Trebonius continued in Spain ; but we find, that he was nominated by Cæsar to the consulship for the three last months of the year U. C. 708, and enjoyed a large share of Cæsar's friendship. But notwithstanding these great obligations to Cæsar, he enlisted himself amongst the conspirators, and was one of the foremost in destroying the tyranny, which he had helped to raise, and from whence he had derived so many and great advantages. After the death of Cæsar he had the province of Asia allotted to him : and Cicero seems to have written this letter to him not long after he had departed from the city, in order to take possession of his province. He acquaints him, that he had sent him his *Orator*, by the hands of his freed man *Sabinus*, whose country as well as his countenance greatly prejudiced him in his favour. For the Sabines had been always famous in antiquity for their simplicity of manners, and integrity of behavior. Liv. lib. 1. 18.

EPIST. XV.

S. V. B. E. Athenas veni.] Trebonius, in his voyage to Asia, stopped at Athens, and wrote this letter to Cicero upon the 25th of May, four days after his arrival there.

Qui cum mihi in sermone injecisset.] It is worth while to take notice in this place, that this expression signifies the same as *leviter mentionem facere*, and that it is often used by Cicero. Thus epist. 5. ad Attic. xvi. *Bruto cum sæpe injecissem de ὁμοπλαίᾳ, non perinde, atque ego putaram, arripere visus est.* So also Orat. pro Quint. c. 21.

Concinnavi tibi munusculum.] It appeared from the thirteenth letter, that Trebonius had made a collection of Cicero's sayings; and the commentators have thought, that he refers in this place to the same work. But I think they are mistaken; for this seems to have been a satyrical piece against Antony, in which he had indeed included a smart saying of Cicero, relating to the subject, but not professedly made a collection of others. It does not appear whether it was a poetical or prosaic performance. For *versus* and *versiculus*, which latter word he applies to the present work, signify the lines of the one kind of composition, as well as the other. Thus C. Nepos in vit. Epam. c. 90. *Plurima quidem proferre possemus, sed modus adhibendus est; quoniam uno hoc volumine vitas excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.* vid. Menag. Observ. in Diog. Laert. lib. 4. n. 24. Though indeed Trebonius, justifying the severity of his satyr by the example of Lucilius, gives one some room to suspect that it was poetry.

E P I S T. XVI.

QUAM vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas. Cicero begins a letter to Cassius in the same manner, ep. 12. lib. XII. *Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad coenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae exercent, et quidem praeter caeteros me.* And in many other places he laments that false step of the conspirators in saving Antony. Trebonius was more particularly concerned in it. For he is said to have drawn him aside out of the crowd, when the rest of the conspirators were beginning to make their attack upon Caesar. Phil. 2. 14. Dio. lib. 43. Plut. in Brut. Cicero wrote this letter most probably some time in February A. U. 710. For he could not have written it sooner than that; because he alludes to the death of Servius Sul-

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picius, who was one of the embassadors, that were sent to Antony, and died at the time of the embassy. Neither could he have written it much later, because he takes no notice of several great and important occurrences, which engaged their attention soon after, and on which he could not have been silent. And besides, the news of Trebonius's death came to Rome in March. See Life of Cicero, v. 2. 373.

² *Nam cum ad Senatum a.d. XIII.]* vid. epist. 7. l. XI. rem. .

³ *L. Caesar optime sentit.]* vid. ep. 7. l. IX. rem. 3.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
SIXTEENTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

PAULO facilius.] We are now come to the last division in this collection of Cicero's letters, which is entirely made up of those, that were written to Tiro, his favorite slave; the greatest part by himself, but some few by his son and brother. They are greatly to be valued, because they let us into the character of an excellent person, who appears to have had parts, learning and virtue, not only superior to his birth and station, but equal to the highest. It is upon this account, that Cicero never treated him with the authority of a master, but with the affection of a friend; that he did not consider him as a slave, and a dependant on his family, but as his counsellor and adviser, as one, that had abilities to assist him in his studies in private, and not unworthy to be sometimes consulted upon the affairs of the Forum and senate. He was most probably bred up and educated in Cicero's family, and consequently had all the advantages of improving himself in polite literature, which either the forwardness of his own parts deserved, or the diligence and industry of so great a master could procure: for it was usual for the great men in Rome, to pay a particular attention to the genius and disposition of their young slaves, and to spare neither cost
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nor pains to improve it either in the studies of the liberal sciences, or in the mechanical arts, or some other employment, which they seemed best fitted for by nature, and most likely to excell in. But under this institution Tiro applied himself to learning and science, and made such a proficiency in it, that he not only composed and published many valuable and useful performances himself, but often revised and corrected his master's works. He wrote his life in four books, which were extant in the time of Plutarch, and made a collection of his sayings in three more : where in the opinion of Quintilian he had consulted the reputation of Cicero better, if he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them. But A. Gellius hath given us an account of some other pieces in the following passage, and hath born testimony to his character in several other places, to which I shall refer. *Tullius Tiro*, says he, *M. Ciceronis alumnus et libertus adjutorque in literis studiorum fuit. Is libros complures de usu atque ratione linguae latinae, item de variis atque promiscuis quaestionibus composuit. In iis esse praecipui videntur, quos, graeco titulo, πανδέκτας, libros inscripsit, tanquam omne rerum atque doctrinarum genus continentes.* l. 13. 9. Though I have been longer in this place than the nature of these remarks would well permit, yet I cannot help observing, that the invention of short-hand is attributed to him ; and there is now to be seen, at the end of Graevius's edition of Gruter's inscriptions, a large collection of the characters, which are said to have been used by him. This opinion is greatly confirmed by a passage in Plutarch's life of Cato the younger : for he there tells us, that the only speech of Cato, that had ever been preserved, was that against Catiline, which was without his knowledge taken down by persons, who were employed and instructed by Cicero to make certain figures, that did in little and short strokes express a great many words, and were before

before that time unknown. For it is not unlikely, but the inventions of the slave might accidentally be attributed to the master: for I do not think, that Cicero would designedly have robbed him of the glory. He attended Cicero into the province of Cilicia; but in his return from thence he had been often indisposed, and was at last forced to be left behind at Patrae, in their voyage from Athens to Italy. Cicero therefore wrote this letter to him there the day after he had parted from him, upon the third of November A.U. 703. Quintil. vi. 3. Macrob. ii. i. C. Gel. vii. 3. i. 7. xv. 6. Plut. in vit. Cat. min. et in vit. Cic. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 56.

Nos Leucade consequere.] Leucas or Leucadia was the name of an island in the days of Cicero, which was originally a peninsula, and belonged to that part of Epirus, which was called Acarnania. Thus Livy 33. 17. *Leucadia nunc insula et vadoso freto, quod perfossam manu est, ab Acarnania divisa: tum peninsula erat occidentis regione arctis faucibus cohaerens Acarnaniae.* And to this Ovid alludes in his Metamorphosis xv. 289.

*Leucada continuam veteres habuere Coloni
Nunc freta circumeunt.*

It is now called the island of St. Maure. There was a town upon the Isthmus, which was called Leucas, where Cicero staid about two days. Cellarii notit. orb. antiq. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 1107.

EPIST. II.

NON *queo ad te.]* Cicero wrote this letter upon the fifth of November at Alyzia, a city and sea port of Acarnania, in his way from Patrae to Leucas. Plin. lib. iv. c. i. It was distant from Leucas a hundred and twenty Stadia, or about five or six leagues. A Stadium is a measure, that originally belonged to the Greeks; but
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it was much in use among the Romans ; and Columella hath reduced it in Roman measure to be equal to a hundred and twenty paces, or six hundred twenty-five feet. Colum. v. 1. Plin. 11. 23.

EPIST. IV.

VARIE *sum affectus tuis literis.*] Mario returned to Cicero at Leucas, with letters from Tiro ; which informed him, that his health would not yet permit him to sail. Cicero was under great uneasiness upon this account, and immediately wrote this affectionate letter upon the seventh of November.

EPIST. V.

DUAS *horas Thyrii fuimus.*] Thyrium was a town in Acarnania, at a small distance from Leucas, from whence Cicero sent this letter upon the same day, that he sent the preceding one, though he staid but two hours. He went immediately from this place to Actium, and wrote the letters that follows this from thence. So that he tells Tiro, he wrote three letters to him in one day. *Actium* is the name of a promontory and town belonging to the same part of Epirus as Leucas and Thyrium, and made famous by the sea-fight between Augustus and M. Antony, in which the fate of the Roman empire was determined.

EPIST. VII.

SEPTIMUM *jam diem Corcyrae.*] Cicero was detained by contrary winds at Corcyra, and his brother at Buthrotum, a town and haven of some note in Epirus, and a Roman colony. He had not heard from Tiro during his stay there ; because the same winds, which prevented his removal from the island, prevented also the arrival of any ships from Patrae. There must therefore be an error
in

in the text, and instead of reading *qui si essent*, we ought to read with Graevius, *qui nisi essent, nos Corcyrae non federemus*. But this is not the only mistake in this short letter; for the date is evidently wrong. It ought to be xv or xvi of the kalends of December. See the following letter.

EPIST. VIII.

N*OS a te ut scis.*] It is very probable, that Cicero wrote this letter at Brundisium: for he gives Tiro a journal of his voyage from the time he parted with him, till his arrival at that place; but continues it no farther. It was therefore written before the sixth of December; for he tells Atticus, that he came to Herculaneum in his way to Rome on that day. ep. 3. lib. vii. A. D. viii. Id. Decemb. Herculaneum veni.

In portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *in portum*. Some of the common editions *a portu*: but the former is right. For the inhabitants of Corcyra had a port or haven at *Cassiope*, a town upon the coast of Epirus, at the distance, which Cicero mentions, from a promontory and town of the same name in the island of Corcyra. But if any one desires to see more concerning these two places, let him consult, Palmerii antiqu. Graec. desc. lib. 2. c. 4. and c. 10.

In Italiam ad Hydruntem.] *Hydruns* or *Hydruntum* was a convenient port in Calabria, and the shortest passage from Epirus to Italy. It is often mentioned in the description of voyages by the ancient writers. Thus Livy, lib. xxxvi. 26. *a Patris Corcyram usque Aetoliae atque Acarnaniae litora legit atque ita ad Hydruntum Italiae trajecit.*

Symphoniam Lysonis velim vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres.] Lyso, at whose house Tiro lodged, had invited him to a concert of music; Tiro wrote word to Cicero, that he complied with it, but found himself worse. Cicero therefore wishes that he may not have protracted his

his distemper to the fourth week or twenty-eighth day, in allusion to the opinion of the Greek physicians, who divided the several stages of a distemper into weeks, and considered every seventh day as a critical day, in which the fate of their patient would be determined. Thus A. Gellius, lib. 3. c. x. *Discrimina periculorum in morbis majore vi fieri putant in diebus, qui consciuntur ex numero Septenario: eosque dies omnium maxime, ita ut medici appellant, ἡμέρας ἢ ἡβδομάδας, cuique videri, primam hebdomedam, et secundam, et tertiam.* See also Histoire de la Medecine par Dan. le Clerc, liv. III. c. v.

Ut Medico honos haberetur.] I have ordered Curius to reward or pay the physician. Thus Curtius, lib. ix. i. *Rex copiarum duces coronis et mille aureis singulis donat: ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae honos habitus est.* This explication is given by Manutius, and approved by Graevius.

EPIST. IX.

ET SI opportunitatem operae tuae.] Cicero arrived at the walls of Rome upon the fourth of January A.U. 704, and wrote this letter to Tiro from thence, upon the twelfth. He gives him a short account of the situation, in which he found the public affairs, upon his arrival there, and of what had been done since that time; concerning which see the life of Cicero, v. 2. 63, &c. He uses *opportunitas* in this place for any kind of assistance, which Tiro might have been able to have given him, if he had been present. Thus also *opportunitas corporis* is used for the convenient structure of the body, and *opportunitas animi* for the endowments of the soul. De leg. i. 9. De invent. i. 2.

Et erat adhuc impudens.] Gronovius reads, *et erat ad hoc impudens.*

EPIST.

EPIST. X.

¹ *QUO in discrimine versatur salus mea.*] Upon the news of Caesar's march towards Rome, the consuls and senators were all so much alarmed at it, that they left the city, and went to the several districts of Italy, which had been assigned to their care. Cicero went to Capua upon the 25th of January, and wrote this letter to Tiro upon the 28th, the day before he went to Formiae, as he tells Atticus. ep. 16. lib. VII. *Capua profectus sum Formias, a. d. III. kal.*

Trinundinum petiturum.] That is, that he would declare himself a candidate *trinis nundinis*, or at three market-days successively. Gruch. de comit. lib. I.

EPIST. XI.

¹ *MAGNAE nobis est sollicitudini.*] Though there is nothing in this letter, which can determine the date precisely; yet it appears, from the subject of it, to have been written about the same time by Quintus Cicero, that the preceding letters were written by Marcus. It is a strong testimony of Quintus's affection for Tiro.

Ἀκίνδυνα μὲν, χρονιώτερα δὲ.] That is, *tuto quidem, sed diuturniora*; for although those, that come from you, inform us, that you are out of danger; yet your not being able to undertake the voyage soon, gives us a great deal of uneasiness.

Ψύχῳ δὲ λεπῷ χρωλὶ πολεμιώτατον.] *Frigus autem tenui cuti inimicissimum.* The play of Euripides, from whence this passage is taken, is not now extant. Graevius, upon the authority of the Palatin MS. reads *λεπλόχρωλιν*.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *ANDRICUS postridie ad me venit.*] There is nothing in this letter, that wants a remark, except this passage: *Dies promissorum adest, quem etiam repraesentabo, si adveneris.* And I believe, that this relates to a promise, which Cicero had made of manumitting Tiro at a certain day, which, though it was near at hand, yet he says that he would not wait for it, if he returned sooner. This explication gives light to a passage in the next letter, *Incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine: qua si me liberaris, ego te omni cura liberabo.* For the latter part hath a clear and intelligible meaning, if we refer it to the same thing with the other, and both together greatly confirm the account, which have given. But there can be no doubt of the truth of it: since it appears from a letter of Quintus to his brother, that Cicero actually did manumit Tiro upon his return into Italy. Vid. ep. xxvi. h. l.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *SPERO ex tuis literis.*] Tiro probably returned into Italy soon after the preceding letter was written: for that is the last which was sent to him, whilst he lay indisposed at Patrae; and there is an interval of about three or four years between the time of writing the fourteenth and this; for this seems to have been written either in the latter end of the year U.C. 707, or beginning of A.U.C. 708. ep. ad Attic. xii. 34.

² *De quadrimo Catone.*] The MSS. either exhibit the reading of the text; or *de qua primo Catone*; or *de quadrivio Catone*. The first will admit of a good interpretation, for it may be understood to relate to Cicero's book in praise of Cato, which he published in the year U.C. 707. within a few months after Cato's death. He desires Tiro, who was well acquainted with his hand, to assist the
slaves,

slaves, that were employed in transcribing this work, if there was any part of it, which they could not make out. *I know*, says he, *that there is one interlineation which I find some difficulty even in reading myself; it relates to Cato, when he was four years old.* If this explication shall be thought not to have superseded the necessity of a critical conjecture, I know of none better, than that of Dr. Tunstall; who thinks, that we ought to read *de Quinto patre* *ἐν τῷ πατρὶ.* For he says, that it might probably have been written originally in the MSS. *de Qu. pre.* from whence came *de qua primo.* ep. ad C. M. p. 126. and ep. 26. lib. VIII. rem. 3.

The remaining part of this letter relates to family concerns, with which we are not acquainted, nor is it worth while to follow others in attempting to explain it.

EPIST. XVI.

*V*IDEO, *quid agas.*] It appears from the beginning of this letter, that Cicero had an intention of publishing some of his letters at this time, and that he had employed Tiro to revise and correct them. Tiro had written to him upon this subject; and in answer to that letter, Cicero pleasantly tells him, that he has discovered the plot. *You want*, says he, *to have some of your own letters as well as mine to be collected together in a volume; but how came you, who are the* *κατὰ* *or standard of justness of sentiment and propriety of expression in my writings, to admit illud tam ἀνύποπτον, or so improper an expression as valetudini fideliter inserviendo in your letter to me; for fideliter properly belongs to our dealings with other men, and not with ourselves. It hath indeed many other metaphorical uses; for it may be applied to things as well as persons, ut sit, quomodo Theophrasto placet, verecunda tralatio, provided the metaphor be not too bold and unnatural.*

[*Ἀφωμίλησα.*] *Quo quidem comitatu, or quorum hominum consuetudine me separavi.* The Manuscripts agree in this reading; but Gronovius reads *ἀνωμίλησας* in the contrary sense, *horum hominum consuetudine usus.*

EPIST. XVII.

[*Sollicitat, ita vivam me tua valetudo.*] It appears from this whole correspondence, that Tiro was of a weak and bad constitution, and that he never thoroughly recovered the indisposition, which he brought with him out of the province of Cilicia. He was, when this letter was written, obliged to observe a strict regimen, and to live by the rules of his physician; for in that sense I understand these words: *indicem, cum Metrodoro lubebit, quando ejus arbitratu vivendum est.* For Metrodorus is probably the name of his physician. de Olitore. vid. ep. 20.

EPIST. XVIII.

[*Ἐχρεῖτο tuas literas.*] This letter, like most of the others, relates to private affairs, which are but just hinted at, and consequently are very obscure and intricate to us. However, Cicero expresses his desire to see Tiro, unless he is detained in getting the money, which was owing to him from Aufidius; for he could only admit of that excuse of his absence.

EPIST. XIX.

[*Pompeius erat apud me.*] Without doubt, we ought to read *Pomponius*. For Pompey left Italy before Tiro returned from Patrae.

[*Docui enim te fides ἔντυμον quod haberet.*] Manutius refers this and the foregoing sentence, *nostra ad diem dicta fient*, to the engagement which Cicero had made of manumit-

numitting Tiro ; but I rather think, that it relates to some agreement between them, concerning their studies. *You, says Cicero, get yourself ready to do your part, mine shall be ready at the appointed time. For I have heretofore taught you the true etymology of Fides. Inde dictum, quia fiat id, quod dictum est. de Offic. i. 7.*

EPIST. XX.

¹ *QUID igitur? non sic oportet.*] This letter is very obscure, and would afford me great room for conjecture, if I would indulge myself in it ; but I shall content myself with the obvious and natural explication. I think it likely, that Cicero had given Tiro his freedom before the writing of it, and had encouraged him to address him in his letters with the same familiarity that one friend would address another. For example, that he should inscribe them thus : *TIRO CICERONI*. But Tiro excused himself from doing it, because it would expose him to the envy and ill will of many people. To this Cicero replies : *Quid igitur? non sic oportet? Equidem censeo sic, etiam addendum, suo.* Ought you not to write to me in this manner ? nay, I think you might say *TIRO CICERONI SUO* : I am sure you have my permission. *Sed, si placet, invidia vitetur, &c.*

² *Διαφύρσις.*] *Diaphoresis* is a medical term, that signifies that kind of perspiration, which is produced by sweating.

³ *Ea quid postulat non ignoras.*] You are not ignorant, what your constitution requires, namely : *a due concoction, a freedom from fatigue, moderate walking, chearful amusement, and a loose habit of body.*

⁴ *Parhedrum.*] Whether *Parhedrum* is the name of a person, or whether it is intended to signify the same as *vicinus*, agreeably to its original meaning in the Greek

language, I know not. But it is certain, that Cicero had a garden, which he was desirous of letting out to a tenant. A gardener offered to take it, but upon such low terms as Cicero was unwilling to accept. He therefore desires Tiro, to prevail upon some neighbour to hire it for a short time, and vex the gardener. *What, says he, shall that rascal give a thousand sesterces for a garden without sun, or water, or wall, or house, and beat our price down, after we have laid out so much money?* Thus far the interpretation, which I have given, seems to be plain: but I know not who M. Otho is, or what is the meaning of *Itaque abutor coronis*. Instead of *Helico*, Victorius reads *Salaco*. vid. ep. 25. lib. VII.

De Crabra.] *Crabra aqua* is the name of a spring or river at Tusculum. This appears from a passage in the third Oration pro Leg. Agr. 2. *Ego Tusculanis pro aqua Crabra vestigal pendam, qui a principio fundum accepi: si a Sylla mihi datus esset, Rulli lege non penderem.*

EPIST. XXI.

¹ *ETSI mane Harpalum miseram.*] This letter was written in the year U.C. 709, some time after the death of Jul. Caesar, and return of Octavius into Italy. In the 4th line, Graevius reads, from a marginal emendation in an old book, which was lent him by Heinsius: *non quia diffiderem diligentiae meae.*

² *Mibi prora et puppis.*] That is: *summa consilii nostri, fuit a me tui dimittendi, ut &c.*

³ *De attributione conficies.*] The Roman lawyers use this word to express the transferring the payment of a debt from one person to another. Cicero uses the word often in this sense in his letters to Atticus, and if I mistake not in two places, that relate to this very affair.

Ep. 13. lib. xv. *Dolabella vir optimus—sefe de attributione omnia summa fecisse.* Again ep. 3. lib. xvi. *maxime autem*

me

me angit ratio reliquorum meorum: quae quanquam explicata sunt, tamen quod et Dollabellae nomen in iis est, et attributione mihi nomina ignota, conturbor.

De repraesentatione videbis.] By *repraesentatio* is understood the payment of money before the appointed time. *Repraesentabo* is used in the same sense. ep. 13. *dies promissorum adest, quinetiam repraesentabo &c.*

* *Ad aquas.*] Scil. *Baianas*. The MSS. are corrupt in this next sentence: *sed quod egerint*. The reading of the text seems to be nearer the truth than any other, which I have seen. But if I might be allowed to offer a conjecture, where there is so much obscurity I think it ought to be pointed in this manner. *Sed quod egerint Dolabellae procuratores*. Scil. *scribas*. *Fac admoneantur*.

EPIST. XXII.

T*U vero confice professionem.*] This letter was written about the same time with the preceding one. Cicero had not yet come to an open rupture with M. Antony. He orders *Tiro professionem conficere* or to make an entry into the registers of the censors of some money, which he had received. For it was not only required, that every citizen should enroll his name and fortunes at the time of a public *census*, but also that they should *profiteri* or enter into the register every acquisition, which they made to their fortune between one *census* and another. They had a practice in the provinces, which answered to this, and was called *professio censualis*. ep. ad Attic. 33. lib. XIII. Heinec. Antiqu. Append. I. 53.

Balbus.] Cicero had desired Balbus to inform him of the nature of some law, which Antony threatned to promulgate at Rome. But Balbus, like a wise and cautious man being unwilling to intermeddle with the public affairs at so critical a juncture returned no answer to that enquiry, but only complained of a disorder in his eyes. It is

upon that account, that Cicero pleasantly says *tanta Balbus epiphora oppressus, ut loqui non posset, &c.*

Servilio.] Servilius Isauricus died about this time at a great age. Tiro probably had mentioned him to Cicero as an instance of great happiness in living so long and dying a natural death. To which Cicero replies, that is nothing to me, who am satisfied with life; but it concerns you, *qui senectutem non contemnis.*

Γόνυ κνήμης.] This proverb is expressed more fully in other places: γόνυ ἔγχεον κνήμης, that is, *propius, quam tibia, genu, or, according to our english proverb, my skin is nearer to me than my shirt.*

EPIST. XXIII.

CUM vehementer tabellarios.] Young Cicero resided at Athens after the death of Pompey, and was placed by his father under the care of Cratippus, a celebrated philosopher of that time. He had been, during his stay there, guilty of some irregularities and extravagance, into which he had been drawn by *Gorgias his master of rhetoric* and some other idle companions. But he soon became sensible of his folly and returned to the prosecution of his studies with great application and diligence. An account of his reformation and his manner of spending his time is the subject of this letter, which is a valuable remnant of antiquity; this and the following letter being the only monuments of young Cicero's talents. Life of Cicero. v. 2. 572, 573.

τὰ μὲν εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὰδε.] That is, *quae igitur ad nos pertinent, haec sunt.*

EPIST. XXV.

MIRIFICAM *mihi verberationem cessationis.*] This letter discovers Quintus Cicero's temper to have been greatly different from his brothers as well as his stile: The commentators have with great justice animadverted upon the unpolite and barbarous manner of expression in the first sentence, and Dr. Middleton hath with the same justice attributed the account, which he gives of the two consuls Hirtius and Pansa to his peevishness and envy. For their behaviour in their magistracy acquitted them of all such violent imputations as these. This letter was written about the end of the year U.C. 709. Life of Cicero v. 2. 430.

Quibus alteri Caesenam.] Caesena is an obscure town in Italy situated upon the Papis, a river which empties itself into the Adriatic between Ufens and the Rubicon. Plin. lib. 3: c. 15.

Alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum.] These were some *Tabernae* at Rome, which probably took their name from the *Cossutian family*. The name of this family is to be met with among the ancient coins and inscriptions, and J. Caesar is said to have married a daughter of one C. Cossutius.

EPIST. XXVI.

DE *Tirone, mi Marce.*] I have placed this and the last letter without any regard to their date, because it was not easy to determine it, and of little importance. This was most probably written some years before those which immediately precede it: for it is an answer to a letter from Marcus, which had informed him of his having manumitted Tiro; and expresses his approbation of it in the strongest terms. The other only blames Tiro for not writing to him often and alludes to no other fact but a piece
of

of good management and housewifery of his mother; which is the only place, where she is mentioned in the whole collection of Cicero's works. Life of Cic. vol. 1. 2.

The end of the remarks upon Cicero's epistles.



The Reader is desired to correct the following errors of the Press.

In the Text.

- P** 31. l. 6. for *plures esse* read *pluris esse*.
 . P. 52. l. 12. for *amicitae* read *amicitiae*.
 P. 68. l. 15. for *Perfice, tu* read *Perfice, ut*.
 P. 90. l. 20. for *proprius* read *propius*.
 P. 226. l. 13. for *Bythynicae* read *Bithynicae*.
 P. 262. l. 6. for *amplificata ste* read *amplificata est*.
 P. 289. l. 17. for *diserto* read *deserto*.
 P. 306. l. 16. for *Deiotarum* read *et Deiotarum*.
 P. 350. l. 16. for *cnm* read *cum*.
 P. 351. l. 1. for *de republica dixit* read *de republica, dixit*.

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